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BĀṆABHAṬṬA:

His Life & Literature.

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Preface

"Bāṇabhaṭṭa His Life and Literature closely follows the pattern of my similar book on Bhavabhuti

I have tried to make the book as exhaustive and informative as possible. My main object is to place in the hands of University students, a detailed discussion on the author and his works, and to present before them a fairly exhaustive critcal review of the work done in this field till now I hope the work will interest also the general reader

Many of the B A or M A students study at places where library facilities are moderate Some students earn while they learn, and to them even time becomes a rare commodity I have tried to furnish them with the views of the earlier scholars in the field, and often given numerous quotations from their works I have tried to meticulously acknowledge the grateful debt to them at all such places For any omissions I express here a deep sense of gratitude to all the Purvsuris who have given me so much light I must specially mention here the debt I owe to the works of Mm Dr P V Kane and Dr K R Potdar

I do not claim much originality, but discerning readers I trust, will find that I have made some little contribution of mine to the subject. I would be very happy and grateful to have all constructive criticism and suggestions, which I would utilise for improvement in the second edition

The references cited in the book are to the following editions (1) Kadambari ed Dr P L Vaidya (O B A Poona) (2) Harṣacharita ed Acarya Jagannatha Pathak (Caukhamba Edn) (3) Pārvatipariṇayam (Nirṇayasagara Edn) I have not given a subject-index at the end in view of the detailed Table of Contents

My sincere thanks are due to my friend Shri T A Kulkarni, B Sc (Hons) B Ed, Proprietor, Nutan Printing Press and also to his entire staff for an efficient and quick printing of this book Last but not the least, come my thanks to all Professors, students and lovers of Sanskrit, whose generous patronage I have enjoyed all these years in all my literary undertakings, as a proud privilege

1st January 1963
134, Thalakwadi, Belgaum

S. V. Dixit

ERRATA

[For economy of space the Errata, showing the important corrections necessary, is presented here in a compressed form, each unit showing page, line, mistake and correction in sequence Obvious misprints,which can be easily corrected are not mentioned]

2.25 manscript (manuscript)—3-13. (put fullstop after 'learning'—3.23. aad (and)—3 29 ०कुलपुभो (०कुलपुत्रो)-6 32 भवु (भवुँ)—8.30 ccmpleted (completed)—8 32 & 37 (add 't' at the end of either line)—9.27 ०तुडगाचाप' ० तुङ्गाचार्य)- 11-2 ond (and)—13 6 callad (called)—14-15 सिहन दवाक्येपु (सिहनादवाक्येपु)- 16 6 विशाद० (विषाज०)—16-31 not ant (not an)—24-5 (read last two words as 'regarding in')-24-23, wha (what)—28-5 accended (ascended) 29-8 ths (the)—29 13 (drop 'he' after ग्रहवर्म)-29-17 commentatoe (commentator)—29-18. corroborater (corroborates)—30-16 folowed (followed) 32-13 Harsa (Harṣa's)—32-33 (after ' कुले जाता put a dash)-32 35 aethologies (anthologies)— 37-27. ०मुचस्तु० (०मुचस्तु०)-38 1 Baṇa's (Baṇa)— 38-24 admriatior (admiration)—40-3 aestheite (aesthetic)—40-5 Keitth (Keith)—40-8 mistakesn (mistaken)—40-11 othres (others)—40-11 argument's (arguments) 40-29 वत्सात्व० (वत्सान्व०)—44 30 mariag (marriage)—44 31 graee (grace)—48-32 (inverted commas afte life)—50-6 ०महोव० (०महोष०)—53 4 शरस्वनी (सरस्वती)-53 20 (Drop i' before चित्रभानु)- 54-7 Empeorears (Emperor's ears) , 56-11 call of (call on)- 56-15 (put ',' after while)—62-15 wandening (wandering)— 66 10 . कर (पुष्पाकर)—66 16 (drop comma after उद्भट) -68 25 Aptty (Aptly)- 69-32 passeed (passed)—75-25 (read 'to the north')—77-15 (read told)—77-31 can (could)— 80-13 ande (and)—83-36 through (threw) 86-23 ०न्दिक s (०न्दिका's)-95 15 tostoy (to stay)—96-29 sincerel over (sincere lover) —97 5 Bom (Born)—106-12 (read 'Vilasavati')—106 13 suppresed (suppressed) —107-4 darting (darling)—109 34 —vayantly (—vagantly)—112 26 -stic (-stics)—112 77 पारि०(परि०) 113 6 he (the)—115 19 Gandarva- (Gandharva-)— 116 35 (read हारि विगत्यधो)-118 16 ०मारवे(०मारते)-120 5 wa (was)—122 17 enters tn (enters in)— 123 9 cousins (cousins')—127 23 anff (and) —127 36 [put (3) before 'the']—131 12 andc lothing (and clothing) —133 8 Baṇa's (Baṇa's)—136 33 (read 'शरद् reason)— 138-11 flowsrs (flowers)

मातापितृभ्यां समर्पितम्

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BĀṆABHAṬṬA:

His Life and Literature.

Chapter I.

BĀṆABHAṬṬA'S BIOGRAPHY

" अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्सान्वयजलधिसम्भवो बाणः ।
नृत्यति यद्रसनाया वेधोमुखलासिका वाणी ॥ "

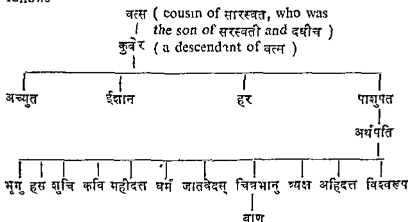
—पार्वतीपरिणये (१·४)

Sanskrit writers generally prefer to remain silent about their personal life and surroundings. In many cases we hardly know much beyond their names, while in some cases we get just a few details about their lives and times. Tradition and legend often try to make up for the lack of reliable biographical information, and then it becomes quite a job for the research scholar to seperate the grain of truth from the chaff of fancy in such cases. Generally biographical information about Sanskrit authors has to be pieced together from: (1) The information directly supplied by an author, (2) the information indirectly available from his works, (3) the information supplied by other authors about a particular author and (4) information available from contemporary or subsequent records like grants, inscriptions and the like.

But there are a few Sanskrit authors who have been more communicative about their personal account. Prominent amongst such authors who give considerable information about themselves are: (1) बाणभट्ट (who gives considerable information about himself in his हर्षचरित and कादम्बरी, (2) बिल्हण (in his विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरित), (3) मङ्ख (in his श्रीकण्ठचरित,)(4) वाक्पति (in his गौडवहो), (5) भवभूति (in his महावीरचरित, मालतीमाधव and उत्तररामचरित) and (6) दण्डिन (in his अवन्तीसुन्दरीकथा). Banabhatta stands almost at the head of such self-communicative Sanskrit authors. He gives considerable information about himself, his ancestors and his surroundings in his हर्षचरित (in the first two उच्छ्वास and part of third उच्छ्वास).

He gives a brief personal account about himself in the introductory verses to his Kadambari (cp verses 10, 13, 16 and 19) We shall first sum up the information which we get from the poet's own pen —

The genealogical details available in the Harsacarita are as follows



In the Kadambari we get Kubera's mention to start with He is described as a ब्राह्मण belonging to the वात्स्यायन गोत्र, who was *honoured by many गुप्त kings His son is said to be अर्थपति*, अर्थपति s son चित्रभानु and चित्रभानु s son बाण Thus we find that in Kadambari introductory Verses the name of पाशुपत is missing It is strange to suppose that Banabhatta (or acc to some *Bhūsanabāna, who composed these verses) forgot this illustrious* ancestor of his Very probably a verse describing पाशुपत was missing in the mss used for preparing the printed editions of Kādambarī as Mm P V Kane suggests We feel that th s verse was lost very early, otherwise by now we would have recovered it from some manscript or other

To hark back to the detailed account in Harsacarita once more, we learn therefrom that वत्स, the progenito of Bana s family lived at प्रीतिकूट (alias ब्राह्मणाधिवास) on the banks of हिरण्यबाहु (alias शोण) Bana's mother राजदेवी died when he was yet a child

So Bana's father acted both father and mother to him, and Bana was very fond of his father But unfortunately Bana lost his father also when Bana was about fourteen years old | Bana'a misfortunes in childhood, and especially his loss of both his parents has probably inspired the poignant description of the parrot's childhood in his Kadambari (cp Paras 23 and 33 of कादम्बरी). The parrot s account has much autobiographical interest Bana's description of Sona in his हृषचरित reminds one of Bhavabhuti s partiality for गोदावरी-both due to close childhood associations

After Bana lost his father, he led a wandering life for sometime This was due to a boyish curiosity, unchecked by any firm controlling guardian hand, than to any need to earn wealth or learning Bana, on his own authority, had a rich heritage of both wealth and learning cp 'स. बाल्यतया निघ्नतानुपगतो देशान्तरावलोकनकौतुकाक्षिप्तहृदय सत्स्वपि पितृपितामहोपात्तेषु ब्राह्मणजनोचितेषु विभवेषु सति चाविच्छिन्ने विद्याप्रसङ्गे गृहान्निरगात् ।—हर्ष०। Bana was thus born with a proverbial silver spoon in his mouth, and in him was seen the union of श्री and सरस्वती which is so rare in this world (cp. Vikramorvasiya V 24, Raghu VI 29) But in spite of such a prosperous background, Bana developed a strong curiosity to see the world at large and he travelled in a miscellaneous company The list of Bana s companions makes a very interesting reading aad contains all sorts of persons from various walks of life, reminding one of Chaucer s plan of the Canterbury Tales, where Chaucer has described about twentynine persons going on a pilgrimage Here is the list of Bana s companions .—" अभवश्चास्य सवयस समाना सुहृद सहायाश्च । तथा च । भ्रातरौ पारशवौ चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ भाषाकविरीशान परं मित्रम्, प्रणयिनौ रुद्रनारायणौ, विद्वांसौ वारबाणवासबाणौ, वर्णकविर्वेणीभारत , प्राकृतकृत्कुलपुत्रो वायुविकार बन्दिनावनङ्गबाणसूचीबाणौ, कात्यायनिका चक्रवाकिका, जाङ्गुलिको मयूरक, ताम्बूलदायकश्चण्डक भिषक्पुत्रो मन्दारक पुस्तकवाचक सुदृष्टि , कलादश्चामीकर , हैरिक सिन्धुषेण , लेखको गोविन्दक , चित्रकृद्वीरवर्मा, पुस्तकृत् कुमारदत्त , मार्दङ्गिको जीमूत गायनौ सोमिलग्रहादित्यौ, सैरन्ध्री कुरङ्गिका, वांशिकौ मधुकरपारावतौ, गान्धर्वोपाध्यायो दर्दुरक संवाहिका केरलिका, लासकयुवा ताण्डविक आक्षिक आखण्डल ,

वितवा भीमक, शैलालियुवा शिखण्डक, मतको हरिणिका, पाराशरी सुमति, क्षपणको वीरदेव, मथको जयसन कथको वत्सपोण, मन्त्रसाधक कराल, असुरविवरव्यसनी लोहिताक्ष, धातुवादविद्विहङ्गम, दादुरिको दामोदर, ऐन्द्रजालिकश्चकोराक्ष, मस्करी ताम्रचूडक" । '[of these companions four viz मधुकर, पारावत सूचीबाण and सुदृष्टि are mentioned in हर्षचरित III pp 139—140 another interesting point is that amonest बाण's companions there are four 'बाणs' viz वारबाण, वासबाण, अनङ्गबाण and सूचीबाण Bana's son is said to be भूषणबाण Why so many बाणs?]

Bana s early wandering life was obviously not to the liking of his elder relatives or friends cp अगाच्च निरवग्रहो ग्रहवानिव नवयौवनेन स्वैरिणा मनसा महतामुपहास्यताम् I—हर्ष I p 67 But we can say at this distance of time that they really made Bana as we know him The spark of genius is always inborn but the vast knowledge of the world rich experience of life and close acquaintance with man and nature in an abounding variety which Bana acquired during these sojourns made h m one who has seen life closely and seen it whole No other Sanskrit author could probably claim to have read the book of life so closely as Banabhatta Bana returned after his wanderings to प्रीतिकूट (or ब्राह्मण निवास) with a rich harvest of wisdom and experience and with broadened sympathies and windened outlook And we reap the harvest of Bana s vast experience of life in his works which are a standing evidence to his प्रतिभा, व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यास Bana in these wanderings saw life in courts and countryside in seats of learning and in far off forest hamlets He learnt mu h about l fe and returned with a mature mind though young in years cp अथ ... [illegible]

One summer day, Bana was resting after his mid-day meal, when his cousin चन्द्रसेन, ushered in a messenger from कृष्ण, a brother (or cousin) of Emperor Harsa. The messenger handed over a letter to बाणभट्ट from कृष्ण In the letter बाण was requested to hear the oral message of कृष्ण from मेखलक the messenger, and then to act up on it quickly In the oral message Bana was informed that some wicked persons had poisoned Harsa's mind against Bana But Krisna, knowing Bana's real nature and worth, had interceded on Bana's behalf with the king and the king was inclined to accept Bana's innocence and goodness So Bana, without losing any time, should personally come to the royal court and pay his respects to the king We are not informed how or why exactly Krisna got interested in Bana, and how he could vouchsafe for Bana's ability and integrity We cannot say that Bana's father or some other ancestor had already made a mark at the court and had won royal patronage and so Krisna could know and speak for young Bana's qualities from personal knowledge For Bana's own evidence is against such an assumption 'अतिगम्भीरे महाराज कुतूहलम् । न च मे तत्र पूर्वपुरुषप्रवर्तिता प्रीतिः, न कुलक्रमागता गतिः न बाल्यसखास्नेहः, न गात्रगौरवम्, न राजवल्लभताशिरिव' । – हर्ष II p 89) We can only venture a guess that Krisna must have been probably a personal friend and admirer of Bana's father, and was keen to see that young Bana makes good

When Bana got Krisna's message, Bana pondered for a while with hesitation and misgivings as to how he would be received at the royal court But finally he decided to leave for the court And after performing some auspicious rites, set out on the journey On the third day he reached the camp of हर्ष, who was then camping near the town of मणितार on the banks of अजिरवती (modern Rapti)

When Bana was presented to Harsa, who had with him the prince of Malava Harsa received Bana somewhat coldly, feigning displeasure He remarked to the Malava prince 'महानयं भुजङ्गः' (He is a thorough *petit maitre*) Bana with a wounded pride, replied with a calm dignity " नार्हसि मामन्यथा सम्भावयितुम्-

विशिष्टमिव । ब्राह्मणोऽस्मि जातः सोमपायिना वंशे वात्स्यायनानाम् । यथाकाल-मुपनयनादयः कृताः संस्काराः । सम्यक् पठितः साङ्गो वेदः । श्रुतानि यथाशक्ति शास्त्राणि । दारपरिग्रहाभ्यागारिकोऽस्मि । का मे भुजङ्गता । – हर्ष II p. 129. Harṣa must have been impressed by this spirited plea. Bāṇa soon became a great favourite of Harṣa and basked in the sunshine of royal favour (cp. " स्वल्पैरेव च होभिः परमप्रीतेन प्रसादजन्मनो मानस्य प्रेम्णो विस्रम्भस्य द्रविणस्य नर्मणः प्रभावस्य च परां कोटिमानीयत नरेन्द्रेणेति ।" हर्ष II p. 134).

After securing royal favour and patronage, Bāṇa returned to his native place. He was received very cordially by his relatives and friends. The reader सुदृष्टि entertained him to a recital of वायुपुराण. The bard सूचिबाण recited two verses in आर्या metre, which referred to the life of हर्ष. All were delighted to hear these. *Bāṇa's cousins (sons of his paternal uncles)* गणपति, अधिपति, तारापति and श्यामल looked at each other and then श्यामल, the youngest (and obviously Bāṇa's pet) requested Bāṇa to narrate the story *of Harṣa's life from the beginning Bāṇa pleaded his inability to* do justice to such an exalted theme and personage; but promised to narrate a part of it. (This by the way should explain why Harṣacarita was left incomplete by Bāṇa). But as the day was far advanced, he began his narrative the next morning Here ends the autobiographical information in the हर्षचरित

About Bāṇa's later life we do not know much. He had obviously married even before he went to the court of Harṣa, as could be seen from his address of self-defence to Harṣa given above. He had at least one son, who later completed his Kādambarī, which he left incomplete due to the cruel hand of death. The Harṣacarita also is incomplete, but this seems to be left so intentionally, as Bāṇa had a limited plan, as seen above. He only *dwelt on the early life of his patron, the later life* was too well known and too contemporary to be written about. The name of Bāṇa's Guru is generally taken to be भत्सु (which occasionally is read as भत्सु, भर्चु or भर्गु) Bāṇa has paid homage to his Guru in Kādambarī (int. v 4) : " नमामि भर्चोश्चरणाम्बुजद्वयं सशेखरैर्मौखरिभिः

कृताचनम् । समस्तनामन्तविरीत्वेदिवाविन्दस्पीठो टुठितारणाद्गुलि ॥" A few stray verses are found in literature, which are attributed to भट्टं (cp Nos 513 and 1838 in सुभाषितावलि of वल्लभदेव—' काम प्रियानपि प्राणान् विमुञ्चति मनस्विन । इच्छन्ति न त्वमित्रेभ्यो महतीमपि सत्क्रियाम् ॥ ' and ' आहूतोऽपि सहायैरेमीत्युक्त्वा विमुक्तनिद्रोऽपि । गन्तुमना अपि पथिकः सकोच नैव शिथिलयति ॥ " These verses occur also in शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति Nos 252, 3932)

Bāṇa had two half-brothers, born of a शूद्र woman Their names were चन्द्रसेन and मातृषेण. The four cousins of बाण are already referred to above The family seat since the days of वत्स, the progenitor of the family was प्रीतिकूट on the west bank of the river हिरण्यवाहु In the vicinity of this place there were two villages named मल्लकूट and यष्टिगृह, beyond which lay the realm of Harṣa at that time According to आचार्य पाठक Bāṇa returned to his native प्रीतिकूट after Harṣa's death and he wrote his two great works there. But we have no proof for this view.

Bāṇa, as mentioned earlier, seems to be a man of means, in general contrast to most Sanskrit poets In his Harṣacarita his family is described as a family rich in wealth and learning And Bāṇa himself became a protege of Emperor Harṣa and was in a very prosperous condition We learn that Emperor Harṣa had conferred upon Bāṇa the title ' वश्यवाणीचक्रवर्तिन् ' (Sovereign Lord of poets who are masters of speech) and Bāṇa's two works fully justify this description of him We get this information about अवनिपचक्रवर्ति नरेन्द्रप्रवर हर्ष patronising Bāṇa and conferring on him the title वश्यवाणीचक्रवर्तिन from the Karnataka Pañcatantra of the poet Durgasimha who flourished at the time of the Calukya king Jayadekamalla II Bāṇa had also the epithet तुरङ्ग बाण given to him by some Pandit on account of his striking description of the horse इन्द्रायुध

Bāṇa was a very learned person He had a deep knowledge of Śrutis Smṛtis Rāmāyaṇa Mahābhārata the various Darśanas, grammar, rhetoric and the like We shall revert to a detailed

discussion of this topic later in this book Bāṇa was a great devotee of S'iva, though no bigot by any manner or means Actually he seems to be Vedantic in his outlook Even this topic would be taken up in detail later in this book

"Before we close the account of Bāṇa's life", to reproduce the late Prin Gajendragadkar s words, " we want to point out one tendency which we have noticed in बाण by a perusal of his works In those memorable lines from 'The Fall of Hyperion' Keats has declared that *none but those to whom the miseries of* the world are misery, and will not let them rest, can usurp the height in the temple of Sarasvati, which is attained by real poets. Keats, therefore, says —

> Yes, I *must pass then for a nobler life*
> Where I may find the agonies, the strifes
> Of human hearts
>
> — Sleep and Poetry.

Looked at from this point of view Bāṇa does not come up to the mark It appears that he creates for himself an atmosphere of *his own and scarcely descends from the heights of the Himalayas* into the world of grim realities to face the miseries of life and the agonies of human hearts Wherever he goes he carries an ideal atmosphere wherein there are no scoundrels He seems to fight shy of the darker aspects of human nature Even Kālidasa does *not appear to do it To us only Bhavabhūti seems to answer fully the test set down by Keats* ".

This biographical account of Bāṇa may well be wound up by dealing with an account of two other authors, who are connected *more or less closely, with him* One is his son Bhuṣaṇa and *other his father-in law (or brother in law) Mayūra*

It is well known that Bāṇa's son completed his father's कादम्बरी He says in the introductory verses to the Kadambari uttarabhaga that he completed his father s incomplete कादम्बरी not to flaunt *his own poetic talents, but to satisfy the public, which was deeply grieved over the abrupt stop to which Bāṇa's death had* brought it cp याते दिव पितरि तद्वचसैव सार्धं विच्छेदमाप भुवि यस्तु कथाप्रबन्धः । दुःखं सतां तदसमाप्तिकृतं विलोक्य प्रारब्ध एव स मया न कवित्व दर्पात् ॥ " The name of बाण s son is given differently at different

places Dr Buhler says that his name was भूषणबाण (See Dr Peterson's Introduction to Kadambari p 40) Others (Peterson, Keith etc) say it was भूषणभट्ट In some mss of कादम्बरी the name is stated to be पुलिन्द or पुलिन (vide Prof S R Bhandarkar's report on the search of Mss 1904-5, 1905-6, p 39, see also Dr Stein's Calalogue of Sanskrit Mss at Jammu p 299) Dhanapala, in his तिलकमञ्जरी (circa 1000 A D) seems to indicate that Bana's son was named पुलिन्द or पुलिन्ध्र cp " कादम्बर्योऽपि स्फुरन्वाण करोति विमदान् वीन् । किं पुनः क्लृप्तसन्धानपुलिन्ध्र (न्द ?) कृतसन्निधि ॥ "— v 26, which is a श्लिष्ट verse *Mm P. V Kane has shown how पुलिन्द is not an* unusual name, as the donee in Inscription No 31 of the Gupta inscriptions, dated 214 of the Gupta era i e 533-34 A D, of महाराज सर्वनाथ is a पुलिन्दभट्ट (p 136) We wonder whether this पुलिन्द, the donee, was an ancestor of Bana, because the repetition of ancestor's name is a common Indian habit

The late V K. Chiplunkar in his essay on Bana mentions a tradition according to which Bana's son vowed to complete कादम्बरी before the first anniversary of his father and succeeded in carrying out this praiseworthy plan of his

Another author traditionally linked up with Banabhatta is Mayura Bana is said to be a contemporary and the son in-law (or brother-in law) of Mayura Thus acc to मधुसूदन author of the commentary भावबोधिनी on सूर्यशतक—मालवराजस्य उज्जयिनीराजधानीकस्य कविजनमूर्धन्यस्य रत्नावल्याख्यनाटिकाकर्तुर्महाराजश्रीहर्षस्य सभ्यौ महाकवी पौर्वस्त्यौ बाणमयूरावास्ताम् । तयोर्मध्ये मयूरभट्टः श्वशुरः । बाणभट्टः कादम्बरीग्रन्थकर्ता तस्य जामाता । Dr Hall's 'Preface to Vasavadatta' p 8 mentions the authority of a commentator of मानतुङ्गाचार्य' भक्तामरस्तोत्र to support the same relationship of बाण and मयूर The प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि of मेरुतुङ्ग, however says that Bana was the husband of Mayura's sister Mayura is said to have got rid of leprosy by composing सूर्यशतक, and Mammata in Kavyaprakasa I refers to this in the words 'आदित्यादेर्मयूरादीनामिवानर्थनिवारणम् ।' Bana became envious of Mayura and maiming himself is said to have regained his remaimed limbs by composing the चण्डीशतक

The legend as to how Mayura got leprosy and how he got rid of it is amusing Acc to it मयूर was a contemporary of बाणभट्ट

and was the latter's father-in-law or brother-in law One day, while returning after his morning constitutional, he passed by Bāṇa's house and he overheard at that early hour of morning a love-quarrel between Bana and his wife Bana was trying to pacify his wife who was angry for some reason and he addressed a verse to her But when three quarters of the verse were complete Bana's muse failed him. Mayūra, from outside supplied the fourth quarter (The whole verse is गतप्राया रात्रिर्वरतनु शशी शीर्यत इव प्रदीपोऽयं निद्रावशमुपगतो घूर्णत इव । प्रणामान्तो मानस्त्यजसि न तथापि क्रुधमहो कुचप्रत्यासत्त्या हृदयमपि ते चण्डि कठिनम् ॥) Bāṇa's wife did not like an outsider's intrusion on her privacy, and little realising he was Mayūra (her father or brother) cursed him to be a leper भट्टयज्ञेश्वर gives this story in his commentary on the सूर्यशतक He makes both बाण and मयूर reside at the court of King Bhoja (1000 A D) at Dhārā So this story has no historical value by itself Mayūra, who consequently became a leper, got rid of leprosy by composing the work सूर्यशतक cp. सुधासागर on काव्यप्रकाश I (ref above) पुरा किल मयूरशर्मा कुष्ठी कवि क्लेशमसहिष्णुरत्युच्चतरुशाखाव लम्बि शतरज्जुशिक्यमधिरूढ सूर्यमस्तौषीत । अवरीच्चर्वैककपद्या ते एकैकरज्जु विच्छेदम् । एव म्रियमाणकाव्यपरितुष्टो रवि राद्य एव नीरोगा रमणीया च तत्तनुमकार्षीत् प्रसिद्ध च तन्मयूरशतकमिति ।" How Bāṇa composed his चण्डीशतक to emulate Mayūra is stated above already

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Dr Hall, Dr. Peterson and the late Vishnushastri Chiplunkar say that the poet मयूर was a companion of Bana ond is referred to by him in his हर्षचरित Others do not feel this correct It is interesting to note that one of Bana s companions in his early travels is one मयूरक But that मयूरक was a जाङ्गुलिक (=विषवैद्य) i e a snake-doctor and so probably different from the poet मयूर Further this जाङ्गुलिक मयूरक is of about the same age as Bana and hardly can be Bana's father in law But if मयूर were to be Bana's brother-in-law this difficulty of age would not arise A verse ascribed to राजशेखर (circa 900 A D) in the सूक्तिमुक्तावलि seems to suggest that the poet मयूर was also a snake-doctor cp " दर्पं कविभुजङ्गानां गता श्रवणगोचरम । विषविद्येव मायूरी मायूरी वाङ् निकृन्तति |—" JBBRAS Vol XVII part I p 59 So this problem has amusing possibilities

According to commentators of भक्तामरस्तोत्र of the Jain Ācarya Manatunga, मानतुङ्ग lived at the court of king Bhoja of Ujjayini and was contemporary or Bana and Mayura They narrate several anecdotes about Bana and Mayura, but these seem to be purely imaginary and lacking historical veracity (for these legends cp Hall s Introduction to Vasavadatta pp 7 8, Buhler s article on the Candiśataka of Banabhatta in I A Vol I pp 113 115, Buhler's article ' on the authorship of Ratnavali ' in I A Vol II pp 127-128, Tawney's translation of the Prabandhacintamani pp 64 66) A verse ascribed to राजशेखर in the सूक्तिमुक्तावलि refers to बाण and दिवाकर (=मातङ्गदिवाकर ?) together " भासो रामिलसोमिलौ वररुचि श्रीसाहसाङ्क कविर्मेण्ठो भारविकालिदासतरला स्कन्ध सुबन्धुश्च य । दण्डी बाणदिवाकरौ गणपति कान्तश्च रत्नाकर सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती भगवती के तस्य सर्वेऽपि ते ॥—JBBRAS Vol XVII pt I p 60) Nagavarma, a famous Kannada writer of about 984 A D , who has written a Kannada version of the Kadambari and a work on metrics called छन्दोम्बुधि, has claimed in the latter that ' he has vanquished Bana and eclipsed Mayura ', as Mm Kane puts it Vide History of Canarese Literature by E P Rice p 29, and Journal of Oriental Research Madras Vol IX (for 1935) pp 81-82 where it is sought to be proved that Mayura wrote on metrics also

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Chapter II.

BĀNABHATTA S DATE

" Bana's date is one of the surest planks in the tottering structure of ancient Indian chronology

—Mm. Dr P V Kane

Fixing the dates of Sanskrit authors is generally a laborious task and often a headache inspite of a salutary exercise and incentive it affords to the brains of researchers ! So when we come across some authors like Bāṇabhaṭṭa whose dates are practically definite and beyond cavil, we feel doubly rewarded firstly because of the definiteness of these dates themselves and secondly because their help in fixing the dates of some other authors, who might have referred to, or might have been referred to by, such authors

Banabhatta was patronised by Emperor Harṣa of Sthaṇviśvara as we know from Bāṇabhaṭṭa s Harṣacarita Then, the famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, who was in India from 629 A D to 645 A D has left extensive memoirs of his travels, wherein he mentions a king Harṣa who was then the Emperor of Northern India This Buddhistic pilgrim left his native country in 629 A D to visit the sacred places of his religion (viz Buddhism) in India and travelled widely for about sixteen years in India He relates that during his whole travels in this country a king called Ho li cha fa t anna ', which translated in Sanskrit means हृषवर्धन, was the supreme ruler of Northern India, with his capital at Kanyakubja This king undoubtedly is identical with king श्रीहर्ष, Bāṇa s patron and the hero of his हृषचरित, because the account of हर्ष by बाणभट्ट and that by Hiuen Tsang agree remarkably well on the whole This emperor हृष ruled from 606 A D to 648 A D This was the time of Bāṇa's literary activity So Bāṇa must have lived towards the end of the 6th and first half of the 7th century A D

There is a wealth of corroborating evidence which can be marshalled, in support of this date We present below practically

all such noteworthy evidence, with special debt of gratitude to Mm Dr P V Kane, who first presented it with such richness and exhaustiveness —

(1) Ruyyaka in his अलङ्कारसर्वस्व (circa 1150 A D) mentions हर्षचरित of बाण several times, and also mentions that he himself wrote a work called हृपचरितवार्तिक Ruyyaka has also quoted from the Kadambari (cp ' यस्तपोवनमिति मुनिनि ,' इत्यादि हर्षचरिते श्रीकण्ठाख्यजनपदवर्णने—अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p 47, " तथापि हर्षचरिते ' अनुरूपो देव्या इत्यात्मसम्भावना ' इत्यादौ, तथा ' यामीति न स्नेहसदृशम् ' इत्यादावुक्तविषय आक्षेप " – अल p 117, " यथा हर्षचरिते राज्यवर्धनं प्रति श्रीहर्षोक्तिषु ' यदि बाल इति सुतरामपरित्याज्योऽस्मि '—अल. p 139, " नमन्तु शिरांसि धनूंषि वा कर्णपूरीक्रियन्तामाज्ञा मौर्व्यो वा—अल. p 158, " यथा वा हर्षचरितप्रारम्भे ब्रह्मसदसि वेदस्वरूपवर्णने । एव तत्रैव मुनिकोपवर्णने, पुलिन्दवर्णनादौ ज्ञेयम् । —" अल p 182, " चित्रकर्मसु वर्णसङ्करो यतिषु दण्डग्रहणानि '—अल p 154 (This last reference is from कादम्बरी). For Ruyyaka's reference to हृपचरितवार्तिक cp एषा (उत्प्रेक्षा) च समस्तोपमाप्रतिपादकविषयेऽपि हर्षचरितवार्तिके साहित्यमीमांसायां च तेषु तेषु प्रदेशेषूदाहृता ।—अल p 61)

(2) क्षेमेन्द्र in his औचित्यविचारचर्चा and कविकण्ठाभरण has referred to बाण by name several times क्षेमेन्द्र flourished in the latter half of 11 th cent A D He also seems to have written पद्यकादम्बरी based on बाण s कादम्बरी (In his औचित्यविचारचर्चा he quotes the verse स्तनयुगमश्रुस्नात & c , and elsewhere in the same work writes " न तु यथा भट्टबाणस्य ' ज्यत्युपन्द्र स चन्द्र & c ' —In his कविकण्ठाभरण—सन्धि 2 he says यथा च भट्टबाणस्य—' भट्टु ववण ता मदायता " & c)

(3) Namisadhu in his commentary on Rudrata's काव्यालङ्कार (comm [illegible] in 1069 A D) [illegible] चरित as specimens of कथा and आख्यायिका (see comment on काव्यालङ्कार of रुद्रट XVI 22 and 26)

(4) Bhoja (11 th cent A D), in his सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण has referred to Bana at some places भोज also has observed यादृग्गद्यविधौ बाण पद्यबन्धे न तादृश (v 1 पद्यबन्धेऽपि तादृश —N S Edn)

(5) The *Dasarūpa of Dhanañjaya mentions Bāṇa by name.* Dhanañjaya was patronised by king Muñja, probably the uncle of king Bhoja Dhanañjaya's date is circa 950 A D —1000 A D.

(6) Abhinanda wrote in verse the कादम्बरीकथासार. अभिनवगुप्त in his ध्वन्यालोकलोचन has referred to a कादम्बरीकथासार by भट्टजयन्तक, probably confusing between अभिनन्द and अभिनन्द's father भट्टजयन्त, also called वृत्तिकार. अभिनन्द's date is circa 950 A. D Any way अभिनन्द is definitely pre-क्षेमेन्द्र because क्षेमेन्द्र has mentioned him in his सुवृत्तितिलक cp अनुष्टुप्सततासक्ता साभिनन्दस्य नन्दिनी। विद्याधरस्य वदने गुलिकेव प्रभावभू ॥

(7) The ध्वन्यालोक of आनन्दवर्धन (latter half of the 9th cent. A D.) mentions Baṇa and his two prose compositions by name (cp "यथा स्थाण्वीश्वराख्यजनपदवर्णने भट्टबाणस्य 'यत्र च मत्तमातङ्गगामिन्य ' —*ध्वन्यालोक p 100, यथा हर्षचरिते ' समवाय इव विरोधिना पदार्थानाम् '*—ध्व p 101, यथा हर्षचरिते सिंहन दवाक्येषु—' वृत्तेऽस्मिन्महाप्रलये '—ध्व p 127, ' यथा कादम्बर्यां कादम्बरीदर्शनावसरे —ध्व p. 8, on p. 99 of ध्वन्यालोक a passage is quoted from हर्षचरित II without naming it).

(8) वामन in his काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति seems to quote a few words from the Kadambari वामन s date in all probability is the latter half of the 8th cent A D (cp ' अनुकरोति भगवतो नारायणस्य ' इत्यत्रापि, मन्ये, स्मशब्द कविना प्रयुक्तो लेखकैस्तु प्रमादान्न लिखित इति। ' on ' आहेति भूतेऽन्यणल्न्तग्रमाद् ब्रुवो लटि '—काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र V 2 44. For the words ' अनुकरोति भगवतो नारायणस्य ' see कादम्बरी para — 2).

Thus several authors from 12th century A D backwards to the 8th century A D. refer to Baṇa and his works.

Baṇa himself refers to a number of authors or works in his *Introduction to the Harṣacarita Baṇa's date (the first half of* the 7th cent. A D) is the terminus ad quem of these poets. The works and poets mentioned by Baṇa by name are —

(1) व्यास and his भारत (also referred to again as भारती कथा) 2) The आख्यायिकाकारा in general (3) वासवदत्ता (4) गद्यबन्ध of भट्टार हरिचन्द्र (5) सातवाहन s कोश of सुभाषितs (6) सेतु of प्रवरसेन

(7) The नाटकs of भास (8) The सूक्तिs of कालिदास (9) बृहत्कथा and (10) आढ्यराजकृत उत्साहs

We shall discuss, at some length, for the benefit of our readers the dates of and some relevant particulars about these works or authors —

(1) व्यास and his भारत—The reference is obviously to the world-famous Mahabharata ascribed to Vyasa but which actually has grown into a शतसाहस्री संहिता of an encyclopaedic nature, roughly between 400 B C – 400 A D The work narrates the story of the family feud of the कौरवs and पाण्डवs It was already a holy work by the days of Bana, who more than once refers to it.

(2) The आख्यायिकाकारा—This is a general reference to the 'writers of akhyayikas' Obviously Bana had before him a fairly rich tradition of Sanskrit prose romance We shall revert to this topic at a subsequent stage in the book

(3) वासवदत्ता—There is considerable controversy about the identity of this 'वासवदत्ता' referred to by Banabhatta. Is it 'वासवदत्ता' the well known कथा of that name by सुबन्धु ? Or is it an आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता, not extant now, but referred to by पतञ्जलि the author of the महाभाष्य ? Scholars like Dr Hall, Dr Peterson (acc to his later changed view as expressed in his preface to वल्लभदेव's सुभाषितावलि), Prof Macdonell (who by the way has given an altogether erroneous account of the contents of the वासवदत्ता), Vishnushastri Chiplunkar and Mm P V Kane, hold that the वासवदत्ता referred to by Banabhatta is the वासवदत्ता of सुबन्धु While Dr Peterson earlier held the view that the वासवदत्ता referred to by Banabhatta is not सुबन्धु's वासवदत्ता, but probably the आख्यायिका of that name mentioned by पतञ्जलि, and the late Prin A B Gajendragadkar has tried to argue strongly for this view which is shared by the late पाण्डुरंगशास्त्री पारखी & Pandit R. V Krsnammacharar as Prin Gajendragadkar mentions We shall now examine the arguments of both sides

Mm Kane's arguments, representing the former view are —
(1) कविराज, the author of राघवपाण्डवीय mentions सुबन्धु, बाण and

himself as the masters of वक्रोक्ति cp " सुबन्धुर्बाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रय । वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥—राघवपाण्डवीय " I 41. Mm Kane feels that the mention is in chronological order But this argument is not very convincing For Sanskrit writers generally do not show any chronological sense is their reference to their predecessors and we have no special reason to believe that कविराज was particularly meticulous Probably कविराज had a greater admiration for सुबन्धु whom he resembles in profuse use of laboured and artificial श्लेष्s in his double meaning राघवपाण्डवीय. Further we have another poet viz वामनबाण, author of वीरनारायणचरित who mentions बाण before सुबन्धु cp प्रतिकविभेदनबाण कवितातरुगहनविहरणमयूर । सहृदयलोकसुबन्धुजयति श्रीभट्टबाणकविराज ॥. We have in मङ्खक श्रीकण्ठचरित a verse where मेण्ठ, सुबन्धु, भारवि and बाण are praised together, with no possible pretensions to chronology cp. " मेण्ठे स्वर्द्विरदाधिरोहिणि वशं याते सुबन्धौ विधेः शान्ते हन्त च भारवौ विघटिते बाणे विषादस्पृशः ।—श्रीकण्ठचरित II 53 Really there are no chronological ideas generally in such mentions

(2) वाक्पतिराज refers to सुबन्धु (cp भासम्मि जलणमित्ते कन्तीदेवे अ जस्स रहुआरे । सोबन्धवे अ बन्धम्मि हारियन्दे अ आणन्दो ॥—Pandit's Gauḍavaho v 800), but not to Baṇa So it seems that in his days सुबन्धु was already famous, but बाण was not yet known to fame वाक्पति s date is the first half of the 8th cent A D and he was a contemporary of Bhavabhuti This argument also is not very convincing It is a negative argument based on वाक्पति's non-mention of बाणभट्ट But negative arguments do not carry any probative force Thus for example बाणभट्ट mentions महाभारत in the introductory verses to his हर्षचरित, but makes no mention of रामायण there Was he not aware of रामायण ? We can quote chapter and verse to prove that he was

(3) The वासवदत्ता referred to by बाण is probably a कथा and no आख्यायिका So it cannot be the आख्यायिका mentioned by पतञ्जलि Baṇa probably refers to a कथा वासवदत्ता only, because just in the previous verse the आख्यायिकाकारा have been praised and

in the present verse he should be referring to another type of गद्यकाव्य viz. कथा, because " in this Introduction Bana assigns only one verse to each of the poets or works mentioned by him, there is no reason why he should depart from this rule in the case of आख्यायिका " (slightly adapted quotation) I think Mm Kane is not very convincing here also हर्षचरित the work undertaken, being an आख्यायिका, Bana might naturally have given more than one verse to that type. We actually feel that verses 10, 11, 19 and 20 are in praise of आख्यायिकाs

Thus we find that all the three arguments given above are not able to carry conviction Now we shall examine the arguments on the other side as marshalled by the late Prin A B Gajendragadkar He holds that the वासवदत्ता referred to by Bana cannot be that of सुबन्धु for the following reasons :—

(1) Subandhu's Vasavadatta hardly justifies the high encomium paid by Bana in the introductory verse under reference The वासवदत्ता of सुबन्धु brims with श्लेष at every word almost, as the author proudly claims, and these श्लेषs are generally abstruse, repetitive, commonplace and occasionally badly indecent and obscene The plot construction is too ill knit and governed by chance It hardly can be called a great work by an author like Bana We wonder whether this argument should not be called too subjective, though fairly a just one.

(2) Prin Gajendragadkar wonders how Subandhu's slipshod and uncouth work could be an admirable model for Bana who shows a high sense of chastity of sentiment as well as of diction How literary taste can differ so sharply between the brief period between Subandhu and Bana ? On the whole priority of Subandhu to Bana is implausible Prin Gajendragadkar thinks that artificial style developed after Bhavabhuti, and he would place सुबन्धु after 700 A D He also notes that Dr Peterson (who later on changed his view without giving reasons for it) originally had a similar opinion He had then thought that the present वासवदत्ता of सुबन्धु with its 'graceless string of extravagant and indecent puns' could hardly be supposed to have preceded the chastity

of sentiment and diction of Baṇa and Bhavabhūti—can we imagine such a public reversal of taste towards catholicism in literature? We think this question is only a rhetorical flourish & proves nothing. There is no particular rule either about 'chaste' style and 'unchaste' style following one another in one particular order or about their inability to co exist together. Daṇḍin who precedes both Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, has many a vulgar and indecent phrase or pun, why should Subandhu be denied that luxury? And when we speak of the chastity of Bhavabhūti's style, we should not forget that the maestro of Uttararamacarita has written many a passage in the earlier Mālatīmādhava which would make the purists blush!

(3) Subandhu is hardly original. He has borrowed greatly from old masters like Kālidasa and Bhavabhūti, and also very extensively from Bāṇa himself. Prin. Gajendragadkar quotes chapter and verse of such borrowings. But one may well ask whether सुबन्धु borrowed from बाण or vice versa? Prin Gajendragadkar says that Bāna, who has fiercely attacked plagiarists in his introductory verses to the हर्षचरित, can hardy be the plagiarist himself. *And so according to him सुबन्धु must be the borrower. He also asserts that the late Vishnushastri Chiplunkar also was fully aware of सुबन्धु's large-scale borrowings from earlier authors,* still because of his fixed notion that बाण's reference was to सुबन्धु's वासवदत्ता, he believed that Bāṇa borrowed from सुबन्धु in case of the similar passages. We find it very difficult to reach any definite conclusion about the debt of सुबन्धु to बाण or vice versa. Mm P. V. Kane also reaches the same indecision after raising the topic. He points out how the following quotation from वामन's काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति occurs with slight variations in हर्षचरित and वासवदत्ता cp. "कुलिशशिखरखरनखरप्रचयप्रचण्डचपेटापाटितमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भस्थलगलन्मदच्छटाच्छुरितचारुकेसरभारभासुरमुखे केसरिणि–काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति I 3 26, *this passage occurs in* हर्षचरित VI with v. l. 'oमातङ्गोत्तमाङ्गभेदo', it also occurs in वासवदत्ता (p 331 of the S'rirangam edn and p 266 of Hall's) with a v. l. 'o चपेटपाटितमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भस्थलरुधिरच्छटाच्छुरितचारुकेसरभारभासुरकेसरिकदम्बेन" "This correspondence between

the वासवदत्ता and the हर्षचरित opens up the question whether बाण actually borrowed the words of वासवदत्ता There are many passages where बाण's words and ideas coincide with those of the वासवदत्ता. For want of space we refrain from quoting all of them But we cannot help referring to a passage in the हर्षचरित (uc III para 6) containing a list of kings which is similar to a passage of the वासवदत्ता (Hall's edn pp 273-276) That one of them has borrowed from the other hardly admits any doubt. " But who is the borrower certainly admits one !

(4) The reference by Bāna to Vasavadatta in an introductory verse to the Harsacarita comes immediately after his homage to the आख्यायिकाकार, and in all commonsense expectation he is referring to a great आख्यायिका ' वासवदत्ता ' in the following verse. The वासवदत्ता of सुबन्धु is a कथा, and it can hardly be the one referred to by Bana Prin Gajendragadkar feels that the आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता referred to by Bana seems to be the ancient famous आख्यायिका of that name referred to by पतञ्जलि in his महाभाष्य, by जयादित्य and वामन, authors of काशिका, an old commentary on पाणिनिसूत्र, in their काशिका, and by भट्टोजी दीक्षित in his सिद्धान्तकौमुदी, and which at present is not extant (The महाभाष्य commenting on the वार्तिक ' अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम् ' mentions three works of the आख्यायिका class viz. वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा and भैमरथी (Kielhorn vol II p 313) In another places he speaks of a person who has studied the आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता (Kielhorn vol II p 284) It is not impossible that Bana knew this work and referred to it)

(5) Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti have referred to the वासवदत्ता legend (cp प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जह्रे ।—Megha, वासवदत्ता च राजाय राज्ञे पित्रा दत्तमात्मानं उदयनाय प्रायच्छत ।—M M) Now we find that these references do not fit in with either the details in the कथासरित्सागर or the बृहत्कथामञ्जरी (which make चण्डमहासेन of उज्जयिनी the father of वासवदत्ता and प्रद्योत king of मगध as the father of पद्मावती), or those in सुबन्धु's works So probably the source for

Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti was the same old आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता referred to by पतञ्जलि and others.

About the date of सुबन्धु, the upper and lower limits can be broadly fixed as follows :—(1) सुबन्धु seems to be referring to न्यायवार्तिककार उद्योतकर and बौद्धसङ्गति an alamkara work by धर्मकीर्ति (cp न्यायस्थितिमिवोद्योतकरस्वरूपां बौद्धसङ्गतिमिवालङ्कारभूषिताम्). Both these authors are from 6th cent A D—धर्मकीर्ति coming towards the end of the 6 the century A. D So सुबन्धु must have flourished after 600 A D. (2) वामन (latter half of 8 the century A D) seems to quote a passage from सुबन्धु's वासवदत्ता in his काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति. So also वाक्पतिराज, who composed his गौडवहो between 733 to 753 A D. as Dr Bhandarkar shows, took delight in सुबन्धु s composition. So सुबन्धु should have lived before 733 A D His position is relation to Bāna is dubious, as seen above

(4) भट्टार हरिचन्द्र—Nothing more is known about भट्टार हरिचन्द्र except his name and that he wrote a prose composition (गद्य बन्ध). That prose composition is not yet discovered A verse in वाक्पतिराज's गौडवहो (quoted earlier) refers to a हारिचन्द बन्ध which seems to be this very work There is a poem called धर्मशर्माभ्युदय written by a Jain writer named हरिचन्द्र Dr Peterson supplies the following information about a certain हरिचन्द्र " In the beginning of महेश्वर's विश्वप्रकाश, the auther traces his lineage to one हरिचन्द्र who was a physician at the court of साहसाङ्क. If there were any other reasons for identifying this साहसाङ्क with the king शशाङ्क who slew हर्ष's brother, we might find our हरिचन्द्र here, and regard him as one of the authors in virtue of whose writings श्रीसाहसाङ्क, like श्रीहर्ष, stands amongst the poets (cp " भासोरामिलसौमिलौ .. सर्वेऽपि ते " from राजशेखर's शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति, quoted above) ". We feel that this हरिचन्द्र, a protege of शशाङ्क, an enemy of emeperor हर्ष can hardly be one referred to with such honour by बाण, हर्ष's

protege, in ordinary commonsense considerations, irrespective of his poetic merits or otherwise !

(5) सातवाहन—Generally सातवाहन is identified with हाल, the author of गाथासप्तशती (सत्तसई). The गाथासप्तशती is an anthology of Prakrit verses, mainly having love themes, and technically is called a कोषग्रन्थ Bāṇa also has called it as such. साहित्यदर्पण VI 329-330 defines कोष as " कोष श्लोकसमूहस्तु स्यादन्योन्यानपेक्षक ः व्रज्याक्रमेण रचितः स एवातिमनोरम ॥ " Also cp काव्यादर्श I 13 According to some, हाल is the author of the work, according to others he is the compiler. His date is not exactly known The कथासरित्सागर informs us that सातवाहन was the king of प्रतिष्ठान and गुणाढ्य the author of the famous पैशाची work बृहत्कथा was his minister The identification of सातवाहन (Pr सालाहण) with हाल is supported by many authorities (cp " सालाहणम्मि हालो "—देशीनाममाला (VIII 66) of हेमचन्द्र, " हाल स्यात्सातवाहन. "—अभिधानचिन्तामणि, क्षीरस्वामिन् quotes several verses enumerating the names of famous emperors of old, amongst which he mentions : " हाल स्याच्छ्रातशालिवाहन " Mm •Kane thinks that हाल is an abbreviated form of the Prakrit सालाहण (स् and ह are often interchanged even in modern vernaculars like the Gujarati)

(6) प्रवरसेन's सेतुबन्ध–Bāṇa obviously is referring to the famous Prakrit poem सेतुबन्ध by प्रवरसेन in हर्ष० intro verse 14 There is a tradition which makes कालिदास as the author of सेतुबन्ध which was ascribed by him to his patron प्रवरसेन Others hold that कालिदास was a co-author with प्रवरसेन in case of सेतुबन्ध Bāṇa makes no suggestion of कालिदास's sole or joint authorship The राजतरङ्गिणी mentions several kings of Kashmir, that had the name प्रवरसेन In राजतरङ्गिणी III 125-323 we are told how at the behest of हर्ष-विक्रमादित्य of उज्जयिनी, मातृगुप्त (=कालिदास acc to some, an identification that has hardly anything to commend itself) was made king of Kashmir, how on abdication by मातृगुप्त at हर्ष's death, प्रवरसेन II ascended the Kashmir throne and how he generously treated मातृगुप्त Daṇḍin has referred to (प्रवरसेन's) सेतुबन्ध cp. काव्यादर्श I 34 (महाराष्ट्राश्रया भाषा प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः । सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥) Mm. Kane suggests that प्रवरसेन, the author of सेतुबन्ध,

may have been a वाकाटक king We have references to two प्रवरसेनs of वाकाटक family (cp Chammak and Sivani copperplate grants— C I I III pp 235, 243) Prin Mm Mirashi has later cogently argued for this view (cp his work "Kalidasa" in Marathi, also *he has several articles and a separate treatise on the Vakatakas*).

(7) Bhasa —The Bhasa problem is now quite well-discussed. We need not enter into details thereof Bhasa was one of our greatest dramatists and his dramas had considerable literary and dramatic merit The very fact that he has elicited a meed of praise from Kalidasa and Bana is a high praise in itself Dr Peterson *believed that Bhasa was a contemporary or immediate predecessor* of Bana (cp Intro p 71) and that सूत्रधारकृतारम्भनाटकs were a novelty in Bana's days (cp Intro p 80) But Kalidasa's remarks about Bhasa as a प्रथितयशस कवि and himself as वर्तमानकवि, and the fact that Bana regards Kalidasa as an eminent predecessor of himself, would show that Dr Peterson has erred. Bhasa must *have preceded Kalidasa by some generations*

(8) Kalidasa —*Kalidasa is also too well known to require any* special discussion here Dr Peterson thought Kalidasa to be a contemporary of Bana (see Intro p 81) But the way in which Bana has referred to Kalidasa would show that Kalidasa must have preceded Bana by a long interval

(9) बृहत्कथा– A famous work in the पैशाची dialect, ascribed to गुणाढ्य, the बृहत्कथा is unfortunately not extant But it was *definitely available in the 11th and 12th centuries A D Because we* have two abridgements of the work in Sanskrit viz सोमदेव s कथासरित्सागर (12th cent A D) and क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी (11th cent A D) Somadeva tells us in his work 'यथामूलं तथैवैतन्न मनागप्यतिक्रमः । ग्रन्थविस्तरसंक्षेपमात्रं भाषा च भिद्यते ॥' –I 1, 10 A third redaction of the ancient बृहत्कथा was issued by a French scholar M Lacote See J R A S for 1906 p 689 for a Tamil work based upon the बृहत्कथा In कथासरित्सागर-लम्बक 1, chapters 6 and 7, we are told how गुणाढ्य was a minister of king सातवाहन of Deccan He once had a wager, which he lost and consequently *abandoned the use of Sanskrit Prakrits or Desabhasas! He went* to Vindhya forest, learnt the पैशाची language and wrote a work of

seven lakhs of verses in that language, in his own blood. The work was not heeded or appreciated by the king; and so गुणाढ्य began to read the work page by page in the forest, and consign each page read to fire. It was only when only one lakh verses had remained that the king sent for गुणाढ्य;so that much portion was saved. बृहत्कथा was definitely existing before 600 A. D as Bāṇa's reference to it shows. Dandin and Subandhu also have refered to बृहत्कथा. It is not wrong to state that बृहत्कथा, along with रामायण and महाभारत, has supplied basic nuclei for several works of later generations of authors. We now give a list of select quotations about बृहत्कथा from ancient authors :— (i) "कथा हि सर्वभाषाभिः संस्कृतेन च बध्यते। भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां बृहत्कथाम् ॥ —काव्यादर्श I 38 (ii) "अपूर्वा बृहत्कथा मया श्रुता प्रत्यक्षीकृता च" "बृहत्कथालम्भैरिव सालभञ्जिकोपेतैः", "बृहत्कथानुबन्धिन इव गुणाडचा." -all from वासवदत्ता (iii) "महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा बृहत्कथाकुशलेन —कादम्बरी (iv) "इत्याद्यशेषमिह वस्तुविभेदजातं रामायणादि च विभाव्य बृहत्कथां च। आसूत्रयेत्तदनु नेतृरसानुगुण्याच्चित्रां कथामुचितचारुवचःप्रपञ्चैः॥" —दशरूपक of धनञ्जय (v) नमिसाधु commenting upon काव्यालङ्कार II 12 of रुद्रट says: तथा प्राकृतमेव किञ्चिद्विशेषात् पैशाचिकम् ।... इत्यादयोऽन्येऽपि प्राकृतविहिता व्यञ्जनादेशा न क्रियन्ते ते च बृहत्कथादिलक्ष्यदर्शनाज्ज्ञेया. । (p. 14 of Nirnayasagara edn). (vi) "शश्वद्बाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा । धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन निःशेषो रञ्जितो जनः ॥-नलचम्पू I 14. (vii) अतिदीर्घजीविदोषाद् व्यासेन यशोऽपहारितं हन्त । कैर्नोच्येत गुणाढ्यः स एव जन्मान्तरापन्नः ॥, श्रीरामायणभारतबृहत्कथानां कवीन्नमस्कुर्मः ॥, "पूर्वविभिन्नवृत्ता गुणाढ्यभवभूतिबाणरघुकाराः । वाग्देवीं भजतो मम सन्तः पश्यन्तु को दोषः ॥ —आर्यासप्तशती of गोवर्धन, Intro st. 33, 34 and 60. (viii) 'चित्रार्थां न बृहत्कथामचकथत्'— quoted in कुवलयानन्द under परिकर (p. 72 of Nirnayasāgara edition) (ix) The verse समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना । हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥—हर्षचरित of बाण Intro v. 17.

(10) आढ्यराज- Who is this आढ्यराज, and what are his 'उत्साहः' is a problem Some say आढ्यराज is a proper name of a poet., some say it is not; Thus for example Dr Peterson thinks that आढ्यराज is not a proper name (cp. Introduction to कादं॰ p. 96).

He thinks आढ्यराज practically the same as आद्यराज, and उत्साह according to him means 'brave deeds' Some Mss actually read आद्यराज which seems to be a conscious emendation to escape the difficulty of explaining आढ्यराज. One edition tries to escape the difficulty of explaining 'उत्साह' and reads कृतोच्छ्वासं (regarding in this case आढ्यराज as the poet's name and उच्छ्वास's, chapters in his work) But this also seems to be a conscious emendation Pischel thought आढ्यराज was हर्ष himself (J R A S for 1903 p 830) Keith holds a similar opinion But there is no plausible support to this view But looking to the fact that Bana, in earlier verses, is referring to several eminent authors and, or their works, आढ्यराज *obviously seems to be a proper name of some author and the* उत्साहs *seem to be the chapters in his work* But we do not know anything about the poet his work or time, beyond his name & the name of his chapters That आढ्यराज is the proper name of a person is corroborated by this following verse from सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण vol I p 136 Benares edition "केऽभूवन्नाढ्यराजस्य काले प्राकृतभाषिण । काले श्रीसाहसाङ्कस्य के न संस्कृतभाषिण ॥" The commentator रत्नेश्वर commenting on this verse says that आढ्यराज is another name of शालिवाहन who encouraged the study of Prakrit and साहसाङ्क stands for विक्रम One difficulty against accepting these identifications is that Bana has already, in an earlier verse (13) praised सातवाहन alias शालिवाहन Secondly wha are the उत्साहs of him? Some try to see a sarcastic reference to the 'encouragement (उत्साह) (!)' afforded by सातवाहन to the famous गुणाढ्य But one does not see any need by Bana to have this sarcastic fling against a great king who lived centuries before him The comm सङ्केत takes आढ्यराज *to be a poet and explains* उत्साह *as* 'beating time in *dancing*' (उत्साहो नृत्ते तालविशेष) *Then he enumerates the explanations of some others* " उदीर्यमाणगीत्याधारभूतपदोपचारात्त्वाख्यमपि उत्साह इति केचित् । यत्र पूर्वं श्लोकेनार्थं उपक्षिप्यते पश्चात् स एव गद्येन वितन्यते मध्ये वृत्तनिबन्धश्च भवति स परिसमाप्तार्थं उत्साह उच्यते इत्यन्ये ।"

CHAPTER III

ABOUT EMPEROR HARṢA

" हेम्नो भारशतानि वा मदमुचां वृन्दानि वा दन्तिनां
श्रीहर्षेण समर्पितानि कवये बाणाय कुत्राद्य तत् ।
या बाणेन तु तस्य सूक्तिनिकरैरुट्टङ्किताः कीर्तय-
स्ताः कल्पप्रलयेऽपि यान्ति न मनाङ् मन्ये परिम्लानताम् ॥"

—काव्यप्रकाशटीकायां सारसमुच्चयाख्यायाम्.

Emperor Harṣa (also know as हर्षवर्धन, श्रीहर्ष or हर्षदेव) is a famous king of ancient India, and a famous author as well. He belonged to the house of स्थाण्वीश्वर, which came to the forefront after the eclipse of the Guptas. We are fortunate to get considerable details about his life and times from (1) Bana's Harṣacarita which delineates the early life and deeds of Harṣa (2) Writing of Chinese authors, particularly Hiuen Tsang (3) The numerous inscriptions of Harṣa himself and his contemporaries and (4) information culled from Harṣa's own works, or references to him or his age from other books. We shall sum up in this chapter the salient details about the king and his times. Readers interested in fuller details can get them in Mr. V. A. Smith's Early History of India.

The Predecessors of Harṣa.—A remote ancestor of हर्ष was पुष्पभूति, whose personality and achievements Bana describes in considerable details in the Harṣacarita. Between him and Prabhakaravardhana (Harṣa's father), intervened several kings. The Madhuban copperplate of Harṣa (see E. I. Vol. II p. 155 and also E. I. Vol. I p. 67) and the Banskhera copperplate of Harṣa (cp. E. I. Vol. IV p. 208 ff) furnish the following genealogical details:—

नरवर्धन = वज्रिणीदेवी
|
राज्यवर्धन I = अप्सरोदेवी
|
आदित्यवर्धन = महासेनगुप्ता
|
प्रभाकरवर्धन = यशोमती
|

राज्यवर्धन II	हर्ष	राज्यश्री

The Sonpat copper seal inscription of हर्षवर्धन (C I I Vol III p 231 ff), though much defaced confirms the statements made in the Madhuban and Banskhera copperplates The Banskhera plate has an autograph of Harṣa which reads स्व ह स्तो म म म हा रा जा धि रा ज श्री ह र्ष स्य

The family deity of this dynasty way the sun पुष्पभूति is described as परमादित्यभक्त, नरवर्धन is designated as महाराज, राज्यवर्धन I as महाराज and परमादित्यभक्त, आदित्यवर्धन is styled महाराज and परमादित्यभक्त प्रभाकरवर्धन's designations are परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज and परमादित्यभक्त He is referred to as a sovereign ruler of the whole world girt by the four oceans राज्यवर्धन II is also styled as परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज But he carried the title परमसौगत showing his Buddhist faith, when young राज्यवर्धन came to the throne he faced an immediate task of taking revenge of the murder of his brother in-law the मौखरि ग्रहवर्मा husband of राज्यश्री, by the king of Malwa Rajyavardhana defeated the Malwa king, but was himself murdered by the latter s ally शशाङ्क, king of central Bengal राज्यवर्धन is also said to have conquered kings like देवगुप्त, and is described as a universal sovereign Rajyavardhana was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Harṣavardhana at the age of 16, in October 606 A D (His coronation, however, took place in 612 A D). Harṣa is designated as परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज परममाहेश्वर

More Historical Details — It is from the reign from प्रभाकरवर्धन onwards that we get considerably more information

Bāṇa gives a lot of information with a free mixture of legend and ornate descriptions, and Hiuen Tsang's account also begins with प्रभाकरवर्धन Hiuen Tsang was indeed one of the greatest travellers of the world and has left extensive memoirs of his travels in Chinese, which are now available to us in translations mainly through the industry of that distinguished Chinese scholar, M. Stanislas Julien In these Hiuen Tsang speaks of a powerful king who was the emperor of northern India and who, there can be no reasonable doubt, is indentical with Baṇa's patron Harṣa, the hero of Harṣacarita (For Hiuen Tsang's account of Harṣa vide an abstract of Julien's two works appearded in J R. A S, vol XVII pp 106-137, also Indian Antiquary vol VIII pp 196-202)

As said above, Hiuen Tsang's account begins with प्रभाकरवर्धन The kingdom of स्थाण्वीश्वर where he ruled must have been originally not very large. It was surrounded by petty states, which waged constant wars amongst themselves हर्ष's ancestors preceding हर्षवर्धन are styled simply as महाराज. It is प्रभाकरवर्धन who is styled महाराजाधिराज for the first time Bāṇa tells us that he had conquered the kings of सिन्धु, गुर्जर, गान्धार and मालव, and he had also conquered the हूणs (cp तेषु चैवमुत्पाद्यमानेषु क्रमेणोदपादि हूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गुर्जरप्रजागरो गान्धाराधिपगन्धद्विपकूटपाकलो लाटपाटवपाटच्चरो मालवलक्ष्मीलतापरशु' प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराज' । हर्षचरित IV) But the conquest against the हूणs does not seem to be then very decisive, because towards the close of प्रभाकरवर्धन's reign, राज्यवर्धन had to be sent against the हूणs. And प्रभाकरवर्धन died before राज्यवर्धन could return from that expedition He was succeeded by राज्यवर्धन, who was the elder brother of हर्षवर्धन (see B R W W Vol I p. 210) When राज्यवर्धन came to throne he must have been about 19 or 20 years old The elder of the two गुप्त princes, companions of राज्यवर्धन and हर्षवर्धन, कुमारगुप्त was about eighteen years old then So also when राज्यवर्धन returned from his हूण expedition, there was a slight growth of hair on his chin. Harsa was about 4 years junior to राज्यवर्धन and राज्यश्री about two years junior to हर्ष. So at the time of प्रभाकरवर्धन's death हर्ष was about 16 and राज्यश्री about 14, and the हर्षचरित often has referred to them as बाल or बाला respectively (cp.

यदि वाल इनि नितरा तर्हि न परित्याज्योऽस्मि'–p 317, वाल एवाखण्डल-भूमिमारुढ' –p 361, 'इय च न स्वसा वाला च बहुदु सखेदिता च।–p 449, also cp. V A Smith's Early History of India p 312 (2nd edn) प्रभाकरवर्धन is said to have died in 605 A. D Harṣa then must have b en born about 590 A D, and he accended the throne in 606 A D C V Vaidya, calculating from astronomical data furnished by बाण shows that हर्ष was born on 4th June 590 A D (see J B B. R A S Vol XXIV pp. 252-4)

Thus when प्रभाकरवर्धन died his children were very young, the senior and heir-apparent राज्यवर्धन being about 19 or 20 years of age. राज्यवर्धन had no inclination for kingship and wanted to pass on the burden to Harṣa, who was equally keen not to oblige But just then a catostrophe again struck the family ग्रहवर्मा the husband or राज्यश्री was killed by a king of Malava राज्यवर्धन immediately marched against him with a small but picked force under Bhaṇḍin and routed him as the हर्षचरित tells us But we are not told about the identity of this मालव king In हर्ष's inscriptions we find राज्यवर्धन stated to have vanquished a king named देवगुप्त राज्यवर्धन's regime was very very short, and probably his only battle after inheriting the throne must have been with the murderer of ग्रहवर्मा This made Dr Buhler conjecture that the murderer was देवगुप्त. This plausible conjecture is further strengthened by a referene in हर्षचरित which mentions that कान्यकुब्ज, ग्रहवर्मन्'s capital, was siezed by a गुप्त (cp. गुप्तनाम्ना च गृहीते कुशस्थले—p 395) Dr Hoernle does not approve of Dr Buhler's conjecture Two difficulties against that conjecture are (1) How is that the two Malava princes कुमारगुप्त and माधवगुप्त are treated with such confidence in the हर्ष family (cp राजा पृष्ठतो निषण्णस्य मालवराजसूनोरकथयत्।–p 129, सर्वैरभिर्दोषाभिषङ्गैरसङ्गतौ वृद्धोपधाभि परीक्षितौ शुची विनीतौ विक्रान्तावभिरूपा मालवराजपुत्रौ भ्रातरौ भुजाविव मे शरीरादव्यतिरिक्तौ कुमारगुप्तमाधवगुप्तनामानावस्माभिर्भवतोरनुचरत्वार्थमिमौ निर्दिष्टौ।—p p 229-230 "अवलम्ब्य दक्षिणेन हस्तेन च माधवगुप्तमसे"—p 413) If they were any way related to the murderer of ग्रहवर्मा they would have been objects of suspicion rathr than confidence, specially after that murder (2) Secondly the imprisoned राज्यश्री was released from imprisonment by a certain noble called गुप्त

(cp कान्यकुब्जात गौडसम्भ्रमे गुप्तित गुप्तनाम्ना कुम्भुत्रेण निष्कासनम्—p 438) We feel that there were more than one गुप्त families ruling small territories in Malwa then, and देवगुप्त, the murderer as Dr Buher conjectures might be one of these several गुप्त kings.

But this Devagupta, king of Malwa, and alleged muderer of ग्रहवर्मा is to be clearly distinguished from the distinguished महाराजाधिराज देवगुप्त (689 A D —700 A D) (see Deo Baramark Inscription pp 213, 215), who was the maternal grandfather of ths वाकाटक king Pravarasena II (vide Chammak and Sivani copperplate inscriptions in C I Vol III pp 240 and 247), as Mm Kane asserts (Prin Mirashi would place Pravarasena II in 5th cent A D)

Though राज्यवर्धन, as said above routed the Malava king who had murdered he ग्रहवर्मा, he himself was treacherously murdered by a गौड king according to the हर्षचरित Bana does not mention the name of the murd-rer (cp आत्मनाम गुरोनाम नामातिकृपणस्य च। श्रेयस्कामो न गृह्णीयाज्ज्येष्ठापत्यकलत्रयो ॥) One ms of हर्षचरित names the killer as नरेन्द्रगुप्त (cp E I Vol I p 70) The commentatoe of the हर्षचरित names him as शशाङ्क Hiuen Tsang corroborater this because according to him She shang kia (शशाङ्क), king of Karnasuvarna (Bengal) murdered राज्यवर्धन (B R W W Vol I p 210) Bana also seems to make a veiled reference to the murderer's name being शशाङ्क (cp प्रकटकलङ्कमुदयमान विशङ्कटविषाणोत्कीर्णपङ्कसङ्करस्शङ्करसकुरशङ्करकुटकूटमदस्रासमस्रासनाकाशे शशाङ्कमण्डलम्— p 306 Uc VI)

Bana tells us that हर्ष ascended the throne imm-diately after the murder of his elder brother But Hiuen Tsang gives us a somewhat different information According to him minister Bhandin recommended to other ministers the choice of Harsa as king They gladly acceded But Harsa had his own scruples and hesitated for a while C V Vaidya observes that Harsa had no compunction to ascend the thone of स्थानेश्वर, but he had scruples to asend that of Kanauj which legally belonged to राज्यश्री, and which was offered to him So he consulted a Buddhistic Oracle (बोधिसत्त्व अवलोकितेश्वर) as Hiuen Tsang tells us (see B R W W Vol I pp 211-213) And it was ordained that राज्यश्री should rule

and Harṣa be her lieutenant. Harṣa then transferred his capital from स्थानेश्वर to Kanauj. Mr. V. A. Smith has remarked : " Some unknown obstacle stood in the way of Harṣa's accession and compelled him to rely for his title to the crown upon election by the nobles rather than upon his hereditary claims [cp. Early History or India (2nd edn.). p. 312]. We think C. V. Vaidya has fairy plausibly explained the situation. The consultation by Harṣa of the Buddhistic oracle seems to be created by Buddhist admires of Harṣa. We should also note that Bhaṇḍin was not just a minister, but a close relative (maternal uncle's son) of Harṣa and was a very intimate friend of his. In age he was slightly senior to राज्यवर्धन.

Harṣa had two immediate tasks before him, when he came to the throne viz. (i) finding out राज्यश्री and (ii) avenging the murder of राज्यवर्धन He first recovered his sister, who had resorted to the jungles of the Vindhya mountain And then folowed a long period of conquest, wherein in about six years, he conquered all kings or Northen India, including शशाङ्क. In this period he made himself the overlord of the whole of Northern India including Gujerat from the Himālayas to the Narmadā and from the Bay of Bengal to Sindh. And he was crowned as a king in 612 A. D. and established an era in that year to commemorate his दिग्विजय.

He had a long reign of about 42 years and was the last Hindu Emperor of Northern India. Some of his conquests referred to in the हर्षचरित are his conquest over the king of सिन्धु and his securing taxes from Himalayan territories. cp " अत्र पुरुषोत्तमेन सिन्धुराजं प्रमथ्य लक्ष्मीरात्मीकृता। .... अत्र परमेश्वरेण तुषारशैलभुवो दुर्गाया गृहीतः करः।" हर्ष० p. 147-8

About his relations with गुप्तs much has already been discussed above About his two boyhood companions कुमारगुप्त and माधवगुप्त, the two मालव princes, we do not hear much later on. But he seems to have crowned कुमारगुप्त, the elder of those two cp अत्र देवेनाभिषिक्तः कुमारः।—हर्ष p 148 and the comm. thereon. माधवगुप्त, the younger of the two मालव princes, and a special

favourite of हर्ष was probably crowned as the king of Magadha (cp. The Aphsad stone inscription which speaks of माधवगुप्त of मगध who was anxious to meet the glorious हर्ष (cp C. I. Vol. III p. 200, 204 श्रीहर्षदेवनिजसङ्गमवाञ्छया च ।) For further information about the Guptas of Magadha see Dr. Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' (pp. 200-218). Kubera, one of Bāṇa's ancestors was honoured by several गुप्तs. cp. अनेकगुप्तार्चितपादपङ्कजः कुबेरनामांश इव स्वयम्भुवः ॥" Kād. Int. Ver. 10

Another royal family with whom Harṣa came in close contact was the मौखरिs His sister राज्यश्री was married to ग्रहवर्मा son of अवन्तिवर्मा of the मौखरि family, whose capital was at कान्यकुब्ज. Bāṇa informs us that the मौखरिs were a very eminent family of क्षत्रियs and were great devotees of S'iva. For more particulars about मौखरिs, see Dr. Fleet's Gupta inscriptions pp 219-230. The name of the family is spelt as मौखरि or मौखर. For the word मौखरि cp. Kād Intro V. 4 "नमामि भर्वोश्चरणाम्बुजद्वयं सशेखरैर्मौखरिभिः कृतार्चनम् ।" and the words 'शर्ववर्मा मौखरि' from the Asirgad Copper plate of शर्ववर्मन् (C. I. Vol. III p. 220). For the word 'मौखर' cp 'मौखराणां नृपाणाम्' from the Jaunapur stone inscription of ईश्वरवर्मन् (C I. Vol. III p 229). The मौखरिs and गुप्तs were often at war (see Aphsad stone inscription-C. I. Vol. III pp. 200, 203.)

Harṣacarita tells us that King Kumāra alias Bhāskaravarman of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) had formed a close friendship with हर्ष just on the eve of Harṣa's career of world-conquest. Hiuen Tsang corroborates this information when he tells us how once Harṣa and Kumārarāja kept company in a journey towards Kanauj, with Harṣa going along the northern bank of the Gangā and कुमारराज the southern bank (B. R. W. W. Vol I pp 217-218, see also Vol. II pp 196-198)

Harṣa's one and only defeat came at the hands of king Pulakeśin II the greatest of the Calukyas of Badami, on the banks of Narmadā, in 620 A. D. Pulakeśin II was the lord of South India, just as Harṣa was of North India (see B. R. W. W. Vol II pp 256-257, V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India' p 313). The battle between the two great monarchs was a very great and a very

close battle The victor as well as the vanquished lost heavily therein and they agreed to make Narmadā as their dividing boundary. Harṣa thus remained in possession of entire Northern India from Himālayas to Narmadā and from Kamarūpas to Gujarat and Saurashtra There are various inscriptional references to this episode cp " अपरिमितविभूतिस्फीतसामन्तसेनामकुटमणिमयूखाक्रान्तपादारविन्द । युधि पतितगजेन्द्रानीकबीभत्सभूतो भयविगलितहर्षो येन चाकारि हर्षं ॥—E I Vol 6 p 6 and I A. Vol. VIII p 242, 'समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियतनय "—I A Vol VI p 76, the words 'समर ...नामधेय' recur on p 86 ibid, In I. A. Vol. VIII p 13 सत्याश्रय is spoken of as 'जेतुर्दिशा विजितहर्षमहानृपस्य ।'. Harṣa last campaign on record is that of subjugating the district of Ganjam on the coast of the Bay of Bengal in 643 A. D.

Acc. to Hiuen Tsang, Kānyakubja was the capital of Harṣa (B R W. W. Vol I p 209) Bāṇa mentions that Harṣa's family capital was स्थाण्वीश्वर. The explanation of this discrepancy probably is that when Hiuen Tsang met Harṣa (probably about 643 A. D.) Kānyakubja must have been one of the capitals of Harṣa's vast empire After ग्रहवर्मा was killed and राज्यश्री became a Buddhist convert, the kingdom of Kānyakubja seems to have passed on to Harṣa and Kānyakubja, more centrally situated in Harṣa's vast empire, seems to have been made a second capital thereof.

According to Hiuen Tsang Harṣa belonged to the Vaiśya caste. But probably he is confusing the vaiśya caste with the Bais class of the Rajputs who were Kṣatriyas (B R. W W Vol. I p. 209, n 129) Because Harṣa seems to be a क्षत्रिय and not a वैश्य for the following reasons:—(1) Bāṇa never suggests that Harṣa was not a क्षत्रिय (2) राज्यश्री was married to ग्रहवर्मा a scion of the famous and ancient kṣatriya family of मौखरिs (3) Harṣa's mother यशोमती seems to be born in a family known for heroism and religion cp. 'धर्मधवले कुले जाता हर्ष V p 283, वीरजा वीरजाया वीरजननी च' etc. हर्ष V. p 284) *Some scholars feel she might be the daughter of* यशोवर्धन विक्रमादित्य *of Ujjayini Her parents were probably living when she courted death (cp.* 'अम्ब तात न पश्यन् मां परलोकमुपगता

माम्—हर्ष V. p 281) (4) प्रभाकरवर्धन's mother महासेनगुप्ता seems to have been the sister of महासेनगुप्त of मगध.

Harṣa established an era of his own which commenced in 606 A D and several inscriptions dated in this era have been recovered (see I A Vol 26, p 32, and E. I Vol V Appendix p 73 ff) Alberuni's account of this era, as Mm Kane notes, is most confusing According to Alberuni (1) Harṣa's era was used in Mathurā and the country of Kanoj (2) An interval of 400 years separates श्रीहर्ष and विक्रमादित्य But according to Kashmirian calendar the era of श्रीहर्ष was 664 years later than विक्रमादित्य [Vide Alberuni ed. by Sachau Vol II p 5 (Trubner) and Cunningham's 'Indian Eras' pp 64-65]

Harṣa was the last great Hindu King of Northern India. His sister राज्यश्री, assuming yellow robes, was a devoted companion and counsellor to Harṣa. Harṣa left no heir behind and the empire broke up after his death in 648 A. D. (647 A D according to Prof Kangle).

Harṣa as a King and Administrator .-After the conquest of Northern India and subsequent coronation in 612 A D Harṣa ruled his kingdom for 35 years, marked by peace, progress, prosperity and piety The unsuccessful war with Pulakeśin II and the successful subjugation of Ganjam were the only military undertakings during that period. All the northern India was under his sway and his suzerainty was accepted by rulers of Valabhi, Nepal and Assam.

Harṣa was a strong, vigorous and benevolent ruler Indefatigable like Aśoka in discharge of his duties the king often toured his realm, supervising the work of his officers Education was widely diffused and Brahmanical āśramas and Buddhistic monasteries were richly endowed Harṣa got built several temples, monasteries stūpas and dharmaśālas. In the dharmaśālas not only food and drink was provided for the needy but even doctors attended on the sick

In point of religion Harṣa was a very tolerant person The Madhuban copper plate describes him as परममाहेश्वर (a great devotee

of Śiva), but later on in his life he was stronly inclined towards Buddhism, particularly under the moulding influence of his sister राज्यश्री and the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang But Harṣa did not lose his reverence for Śiva or sun He has built costly temples in honour of Buddha, Śiva and the sun All these three deities were worshipped at his assembly, and his charity was enjoyed by Brahmaṇas, Buddhists and Jains alike

The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in quest of Buddhist scriptures stayed in Harṣa's dominions for 8 years (635 A D —643 A D) He has left extensive memoirs of that Age and life and work of Harṣa Harṣa fell under the influence of this "Master of Law' in whose honour a grand assembly was held at Kanauj, the capital, the aim of which was to proclaim the doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism as expounded by Hiuen Tsang After this assembly he was called to another great assembly at Prayag,—the sixth of the quinquennial assemblies at which Harṣa used to distribute treasures to holy men of different religions—Buddhists, Hindus and Jainas—and the poor and the destitute Harṣa did not live to hold another such assembly

Harṣa as a poet and patron of Literature·— Harṣa was not only a great warrior and administrator but a great man of letters and a greet patron of learning He is the author of three dramas प्रियदर्शिका, रत्नावली and नागानन्द, which though not on par with the masterpieces of Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti are still quite good dramas and "they have a peculiar simplicity, correctness and charm which have endeared them to the writers on works of dramaturgy " The Nagananda has a Buddhistic bias.

Besides these three dramas हर्ष is credited with the authorship of the सुप्रभातस्तोत्र and अष्टमहाश्रीचैत्यस्तोत्र two Sanskit poems with Buddhistic subjet-mater, which in the colophon bear the name श्रीहर्ष (But in the Tibetan Tanjur and in Minayeff's Mss the former is ascribed to king हर्षदेव of काश्मीर—vida J R A S for 1903 p 704) These are printed in Maurice Ettinghausen's ' Harṣa - Vardhana ' Besides these about a dozen occasional stanzas, not found in his extant works are found in anthologies, ascribed to his name In the Madhuban inscription a verse composed by

श्रीहर्ष is quoted (कर्मणा मनसा वाचा कर्तव्य प्राणिने हितम् । हर्षेणैतन् समाख्यात धर्मार्जनमनुत्तमम् ॥ "—this being हर्ष's advice to his subjects) And the verse descriptive of राज्यवर्धन in the same inscription may be from Harṣa's pen as Mm Kane thinks क्षीरस्वामिन् a commentator on Amarakoṣa has mentioned a कोशकार हर्ष (cp सद्घातमृत्युमेरक मरिमरी च देवतेति श्रीहर्ष. on आतुरोऽभ्यमितोऽभ्यान्त). The सुभाषितावलि cites a verse of श्रीहर्ष which is not found in his extant works cp. "अशठमलोलमजिह्म त्यागिनमनुरागिण विशेषज्ञम् । यदि नाश्रयति नर श्री. श्रीरेव हि वञ्चिता तत्र ॥"— No. 233 in सुभाषितावलि The same verse occurs as No 470 in the शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति without specifying the author. Jayadava in his प्रसन्नराघव I 20 has called हर्ष as " the joy of Poesy.'

Harṣa was a great patron of literature. His munificent patronage was enjoyed by बाण, मयूर, मातङ्गदिवाकर and others. In सुभाषितावलि we have a verse of मयूर in which a certain unnamed king—ostensibly हर्ष— is praised (cp No 2515 — " भूपाला· शशि. भास्करान्वयभुव के नाम नासादिता भर्तार पुनरेकमेव हि भुवस्त्वा देव मन्यामहे । येनाङ्ग परिमृष्य कुन्तलमथाकृष्य व्युदस्यायतं चोल प्राप्य च मध्यदेशमधुना काञ्च्या कर पातित ॥") In will be noticed that the words अङ्ग, कुन्तल, चोल मध्यदेश and काञ्ची are paronomastic) We have quoted at the the beginning of this chapter a verse from सारसमुच्चय, a commetary on the Kavyaprakas'a, in which verse Harṣa's liberality towards Baṇa is praised

Harṣa's Date —We have already discussed in Chap II how Harṣa's date is historically quite definite Evidence from Indian sources (literary and inscriptional) and from Chinese sources, yields exact chronological details about Harṣa He was born on 4th June 590 A D , and reigned from 606 A D. to 648 A D The details about ' Harṣa's date ' need not be repeated over here, for these are fully covered in chapter II while discussing Baṇa's Date

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CHAPTER IV

BĀṆA'S WORKS

" कविरस्वरवर्णपदा रसभाववती जगन्मनो हरति ।
तत्किं तरुणी, नहि, नहि, वाणी बाणस्य मधुरशीलस्य ॥ "

—धर्मदासकृते विदग्धमुखमण्डने

Bāṇa is the master of Sanskrit गद्यकाव्य as Kālidāsa is the master of Sanskrit पद्यकाव्य and दृश्यकाव्य. And as soon as one speaks of Bāṇa, one inevitably thinks of his two well-known prose masterpieces viz (1) The Harṣacarita (an Ākhyāyikā) and (2) The Kādambarī (a Kathā) The two are the well known works of Bāṇa and we shall be devoting the next two chapters (V and VI) for a detailed study of these two Naturally in this chapter we would discuss about some other works which are ascribed to Bāṇa's authorship, with a greater or lesser degree of authenticity in individual cases.

A third work ascribed to Bāṇa is the चण्डीशतक. It is a work containing a hundred verses in शार्दूलविक्रीडित metre, in which goddess Caṇḍī, a form of Kālī, is praised In every verse there is a refernce to some incident in the fight between काली and महिषासुर Its source is the देवीमाहात्म्य (ch 80) of the मार्कण्डेयपुराण There is nothing implausible in Bāṇa's having composed an encomium to Caṇḍī, because चण्डी is a form of पार्वती for whom Bāṇa has a great regard In his कादम्बरी also Bāṇa has given a powerful and picturesque description of the temple of चण्डिका Verses from चण्डीशतक are quoted in the सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण काव्यप्रकाश and अर्जुनवर्मदेवस टीका on अमरुशतक अर्जुनवर्मदेव (p 3) expressly ascribes the authorship of Caṇḍīśataka to Bāṇa cp "उपनिबद्ध च भट्टबाणेनैवकविना एव साम्राज्य प्रस्तावे देव्यास्तद्भङ्गिभिर्भङ्गवता भर्गेण सह प्रीतिप्रतिपादनाय बहुधा नर्म यथा दृष्टाबासक्तदृष्टि &c (v 37 of चण्डीशतक). 'The Caṇḍīśataka of Bāṇa, the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra and the Bhaktāmarastotra of Mānatunga" says Dr Peterson "are the three opposing poems written by devotees of one or other of the great forms of religion which flourished side by side under Harṣa's protection" There are commentaries on Caṇḍīśataka by Dhaneśvara, by Nāgojībhaṭṭa by Bhāskararāya and another anonymous "

A fourth work ascribed to Bāṇa is a शिवशतक or शिवस्तुति, which is an encomium of Lord S'iva and praises his victory over त्रिपुरासुर.

A fifth work ascribed to Bāṇa is a drama entitled मुकुटताडितक. चण्डपाल and गुणविजयगणि, the commentators of the नलचम्पू of त्रिविक्रमभट्ट, make a citation from a drama मुकुटताडितक composed by बाण—cp " यदाह मुकुटताडितकनाटके बाण — 'जाताः प्रोषितदिग्गजा इव गुहाः प्रध्वस्तसिंहा इव द्रोण्य कृत्तमहाद्रुमा इव नुव प्रोत्खातशैला इव। विख्याता क्षयकालरिक्तसकलत्रैलोक्यकष्टा दशा जाता. क्षीणमहारथा कुरुपतेर्देवस्य शून्याः सभा ". Bhoja in his शृङ्गारप्रकाश also gives a quotation from it. It has for its theme भीमसेन's smashing of Duryodhana with his club Nothing more is known of this drama from any other sources.

A sixth work said to have been writtan by Bāṇa is सर्वचरितनाटक (CC I 368) We do not know anything about this drama from any other sources

A seventh work said to be Baṇas is a play शारदचन्द्रिका शारदातनय mentions this play शारदचन्द्रिका by बाण, of which the plot relates to चन्द्रापीड cp. कल्पित भट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका। दिव्येन मर्त्यस्य वन कादम्बरावस्थावता ॥—भावप्रकाश G O S p 252 Daśarūpa mentions शारदचन्द्रिका as an example of दग्धप्रिदूषक cp. "चन्द्रापीडस्य मरणं मत्प्रत्युज्जीवनान्वितम्। कल्पित भट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ॥"

An eighth work of Baṇa is said to be a poetical version of Kādambarī. क्षेमेन्द्र in his औचित्यविचारचर्चा quotes a verse from Baṇa, describing the plight of love lorn कादम्बरी, in her separation from चन्द्रापीड cp 'यथा वा भट्टबाणस्य—' हारो जलार्द्रवसनं नलिनीदलानि प्रालेयशीकरमुचस्तुहिनांशुभासः। यस्येन्धनानि सरसानि च चन्दनानि निर्वाणमेष्यति कथं स मनोभवाग्निः ॥ " अत्र विप्रलम्भशरणार्पितायाः कादम्बर्याः विरहव्यथावर्णने सार्द्रनीरजनीरदभिः तुषारैः सुधाकरैः प्रियवचनेन हृदयानन्ददायिनी दयितसमागमेनेति "-Bombay Edn. p 121 There are other verses also in his कविकण्ठाभरण which are referrable to similar situations For all such verses cp Peterson's Sabo 62 68 and Thomas Kav 58-59 e g जयति [illegible] [illegible] So it may be that Baṇa wrote a पद्यकादम्बरी as well. These verses and also other

verses quoted in anthologies as Bana's show that Bana's was good at verse as in prose Dr P L Vaidya, however, says about the above quotation from क्षेमेन्द्र s औ. वि च – "कदाचित्क्षेमेन्द्रविरचितात् पद्यकादम्बरीनाम्नो ग्रन्थादेव श्लोकौ समुद्धृत स्यात् !" We demur in view of क्षेमेन्द्र's wording given above

Bana might have written yet another (ninth) work according to Krsnamacariar who says. "Bana was probably also a philosopher, *for आनन्दजीवित् in his commentary तत्त्वविवेक on अनुभवानन्द's न्यायरत्नदीपावलि, gives a reference to a work of बाण on वेदान्त* "

Now we come to the पार्वतीपरिणय, a drama ascribed to Bāna which has raised a lot of debate about its authorship Actually in the prologue of the play the author is specifially mantioned to be *बाण of the वत्स गोत्र cp अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्सान्वयजलधिसम्भवो बाण ।* नृत्यति यद्रसनाया वेधोमुखलासिका वाणी ॥–P P I 4 Our Bana is also a descendant of वत्सगोत्र And there is no inherent impossibility in his having composed this drama The subject matter is the same as that of Kalidasa's कुमारसम्भव, and similarities of words and thought between the two works are many, as we [shall notice later on Some scholars feel, on account of these similarities that Bana could not have written a drama which draws so much on Kalidasa Some minor plagiarist must have composed the drama But this is not a convincing argument There is no wonder if Bana now and then were to draw upon his illustrious predecessor *Particularly in view of the fact that he had a great admriation for Kalidasa and secondly that he was probably a novice at work at* that time, such debt *is quite plausible Further the subject matter* of पार्वतीपरिणय *was very similar to earlier part of the* Kumarasambhava Have not great writers like Kalidasa and Shakespeare also drawn much on their predecessors? Who can deny Kalidasa s debt to the Ramayana, Bhasa, or Bhagavadgita, amongst others? Some scholars argue that पार्वतीपरिणय is not Bana's work because it compares unfavaourably in thought and style with the हर्षचरित and कादम्बरी This also is no argument. The पार्वतीपरिणय was written probably when Bana just was feeling his way to literary art and finding his bearings Is not even the Harsacarita much inferior to Kadambari?

We feel that Parvatiparinaya seems to be from Bāṇa's pen Our reasons are (1) There are many ideas and turns of expression which are very similar, in the पार्वतीपरिणय on the one hand and the हर्षचरित or कादम्बरी on the other cp a) हिमवान् दवि,अयदपि श्रूयताम्। कुचयुगल परिरुद्ध यथा यथा वृद्धिमेति तन्वङ्ग्या । वरचिन्ताहुतमनमस्तथा तथा वारवंमति म गात्रम —॥' पा० I 15 and ' उद्वेगमहावर्ते पातयति पयो धरोन्नमनकाले। मरिदेव तटमनुवर्ष विवर्धमाना सुता पितरम ॥ दवि ,तरणी भूता वत्सा राज्यश्री यौवनारम्भ एव च कन्यकानामिन्धनीभवन्ति पितर सन्तापानलस्य। हृदयम सकारयति म दिवसमिव पयायरात्रविरस्या ।'—हर्ष IV p 234, (4) भवितव्यता हि बलवती—पा p 21 and न हि शक्य दैव-मन्यथा कर्तुमभियुक्तेनापि—कादम्बरी p 62 (c) यत्पुन परिजनपरमाणोमेत्तोऽपि &c पा p 15 and मामपि विकुक्षिनामान मृत्युपरमाण्मदधारयतु भवती हर्ष p 41 (2) There are many broad similarities between पार्वतीपरिणय and हर्षचरित or कादम्बरी (a) The description of preparations of Parvati's marriage in पा act V is reminiscent of that of preparations for राज्यश्री s marriage in हर्ष० IV (b) The arrival of Siva for marriage in पा V is reminiscent of arrival of ग्रहवर्मा for marriage in हर्ष० IV (c) The devotion of Bāṇa for Siva is found in Parvatiparinaya (cp e g P IV 3) as in Harṣacarita or Kadambari So also the the description of Siva in पा (p 13) ' तस्य पुन गौरीपरिचरणम ' is Vedantic in tone as in other works of Bāṇa (3) The prose of the drama, as Mm Kane observes, reminds one of कादम्बरी and हर्षचरित

Mm Kane also, like us, does not agree with those who feel that Bāṇa could not have written the पार्वतीपरिणय, though he would admit the relative inferiority of the पार्वतीपरिणय to the two prose works of Bāṇa Mm Kane also remarks that Bāṇa was generally handicapped in verse Mr Kale also feels that पार्वतीपरिणय is quite likely to be Bāṇa's composition, though, it must have been his first attempt before his poetical faculties were developed.

Pandit R V Krṣṇamacariar has discussed the authorship of पार्वतीपरिणय in his edition of the drama in Vani Vilasa Sanskrit Series, Srirangam and in a paper published in the proceedings of the third All India Oriental Conferance of Madras (1924) pp

68 69, and he as attributed the drama to वामनभट्टबाण alias अभिनव बाण, an author of the 15th century A D (who has also composed the नलाभ्युदय, शृङगारभूषणभाण, वेमभूपालचरित etc), *on aestheite and* historical grounds T Ganapatisastri in his Introduction to Nalabhyudaya also feels likewise Dr Keith also believes that पार्वतीपरिणय is by *वामनभट्टबाण of 15th century A D who wrote* about *1400* A D under the Reddi prince Vema of Kondavidu, and says that it owes its fame to its being mistakesn for the work of Bana, He cites the support of R Schmidt, but does not argue his case *Mm Kane has the following opinion on the viewpoint of* Krsnamacariar and othres The argument's of these eminent scholars fail to convince One of their main arguments is the non-metion and *non-quoting of the* पार्वतीपरिणय *by writers on poetics.* This is a negative argument and proves nothing positive Secondly while attempting to show that the author of the play was वामनभट्ट बाण alias अभिनव बाण, a protege of the Reddi king वेम alias वीरनारायण, they give no explanation as to why the author of the पार्वतीपरिणय calls himself simply as Bana, when वामनभट्ट बाण refers to himself as वामनभट्ट बाण or अभिनव बाण

Now we shall give an Act by Act synopsis of the drama पार्वतीपरिणय and give a few critical remarks thereon

(Act I) We find the drama opening with two Nandi verses- one in praise *of Parvati's glances at the time of her marriage* and the second glorifying the power of cupid—and then after the stage direction नान्द्यन्ते, the सूत्रधार enters The सूत्रधार pays homage to the primeval Divine couple (ostensibly Siva and Parvati), *Scatters a handful of flowers and calls the* नटी *He tells that they* are to present that day a new Rūpaka, which is composed by a famous poet named बाण of the वत्सगोत्र (अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्सान्वयजलधिसम्भवो बाण । नृत्यति यद्रसनायां वेधोमुखलासिका वाणी ॥) the drama though new, is bound to succeed, because it has (i) सविधानस्य सामग्रयम (ii) रमाला परिपुष्टता and (iii) सदर्भसौकुमार्यम् It is also विचित्रसंविधान *He learns that his wife is worried* about the marriage of their daughter वासन्तिका The सूत्रधार assures that the creator arranges to find out suitable bridegrooms for girls so *she need not worry Here, for example, he says, is the divine*

sage Narada who is exerting to get the daughter of Himālaya suitably married And herewith ends the प्रस्तावना and the main scene begins

Narada enters, travelling by aerial path, planning to bring about the marriage of Parvati (who in ealier birth was दाक्षायणी) and Siva, for the good of the gods (the description of Narada's descent to the earth is very reminiscent of Dusyanta s descent is Sak VII) He descends in the precincts of Himalaya, and admires the eminence and majesty of that lord of mountains He calls at the palace of हिमवान्, and learns that हिमवान् is discussing something with his Queen Mena and decides to see them

Then are shown Himavān and Mena in discussion, and the topic is the plan for the marriage of their marriageable daughter Gauri (we find here a close similarity to a talk between प्रभाकर-वर्धन and यशोमती about the marriage of their daughter राज्यश्री, in the हर्षचरित्) While the two are expressing their anxiety about getting their daughter suitably married, Narada ushers himself, and after formal courtesies suggests that Parvati should be married to a worthy bridegroom He also prophesies that Parvati, who is a reincarnation of a 'पुरातनी शक्ति', would attain a 'विश्वाधिक' वर, Narada, however, does not mention Siva by name just now He suggests that Parvati should wait upon Lord Siva, who is practising penance on the slopes of Himalaya Thus, having introduced the 'seed' of action, Narada leaves Himālaya, guessing what Narada is working at, leaves with his Queen They would ask Pārvati to follow Narada's advice and here ends the first act

(Act II) The act opens with a small interlude (Prave'saka, wrongly called viskambhaka in N S P Edn) in which there is a conversation between मालतिका, a वनदेवता and रम्भा an अप्सरस्. मालतिका is going to Nandanavana to fetch flowers required by Siva, while रम्भा is out to meet her lover नलकूबर, son of कुबेर, avoiding the other friends of hers who are in the caves of mountain Meru lurking there through fear of Taraka. Rambha, finding separation unbearable is on an अभिसार mission -From the conversation

between these two we learn how Tāraka is harassing the world, and also how Parvati has started to propitiate Lord S'iva

Then are shown Indra and Bṛhaspati in conversation A देवदूत named देवल brings fresh reports of तारक's depradations in heaven Indra assures him that steps are being taken against the danger and the trouble would soon be eliminated When the देवदूत departs, इन्द्र and बृहस्पति *discuss the danger posed by* तारक *and the remedy* prophesied by Brahma that Taaka would be killed by son of S'iva and Parvati, who would be the Commander-in chief of gods How to bring about this marriage? Indra has got the heartening news from Rambhā that Parvati has started the propitiation of Siva Then Indra thinks of commissioning Madana to affect S'iva with love Madana, requested to undertake a task for the good of gods, says he would accomplish any exploit—even of conquering S'iva! Bṛhaspati then tells Madana that his task shall be just to conquer S'iva Madana is inwardly taken aback He has boasted about his prowess, and the boast *is now spelling his disaster* Even वसन्त and रति are gravely concerned about the task But काम! is a person of honour and magnanimity He, an insignificant servant, would undertake any task for the good of gods! The act ends with Madana leaving with Vasanta and Rati, on his errand, *receiving the blessings and good wishes* of Indra and Bṛhaspati, but with an apprehensive mind and Indra and Bṛhaspati also leave, hoping for the best by grace of gods

(Act III) Indra and Bṛhaspati enter Indra is wondering whether the mission of Madana would succeed He has an ill omen viz the throbbing of the left eye Just then there arrives Narada, who had followed Madana *invisibly to observe things as* per Indra s direction Narada narrates the happenings When Madana reached near स्थाण्वाश्रम, he requested Vasanta to display his glory in *the forest and accordingly the whole* atmosphere was full of the signs of spring like the cooing of cuckoos, Malaya breeze and the like Trees blossomed Siva was *disturbed from* his meditation Just then came on the scene पार्वती While Parvati saluted Siva and the lord blessed her 'अनन्यभाजं पतिमाप्नुहि', Madana fixed his सम्मोहन बाण on his bow *For a while Siva and*

Parvati looked at each other with an emotional surge in the heart but S'iva forthwith controlled his disturbed mind and looked on all sides for the cause of the disturbance And he espied Madana about to aim at himself. And lo ! a fire blazed out from the third eye of S'iva and reduced Madana to ashes. Indra fainted to hear this tragedy and Narada comforted and revived him. Rati and Vasanta, continued Nārada, fainted Vasanta revived first and he revived Rati, who began to lament embracing the charred body of her lord A voice from the sky assured her that her lord would be revived when S'iva marries Parvati. Nārada further tells how the disconsolate Rati was taken home by Vasanta, how S'iva disappeared to avoid any meeting with a lady, and how Himālaya took the fainting Paravati home. Narada himself goes to report matters to Brahma There arrives Rambhā on the scene and informs Indra that she had heard in Kubera's abode about the burning of cupid, and she had also heard there that Pārvati. disappointed by the death of Madana has embarked upon rigorous penances to get S'iva as her lord Her mother tried to wean her from the ordeal without success, while father Himavan has approved of the idea. The act is then wound up

(Act IV) Nandin enters, entrusted by S'iva with the task of verifying about the determination of Pārvati and about her penances, from her friends Jayā and Vijayā Nandin is struck by the firm determination and rigour of the penances of Parvati Then are shown Jaya and Vijayā collecting flowers, Nandin learns from them the purpose behind Parvati's penance viz, obtaining S'iva as her Lord He is told how Parvati became lovesick after the मदनदाह episode and how with no other way of achieving her objective she decided upon severe penarces to attain her objective Nandin suggests that she should desist from the futile pursuit to marry this वीतरागाणा अग्रणी and should marry some other god But Jayā and Vijayā tell him that Parvati's attituce is 'do or die' Nandin inwardly happy, goes to inform S'iva about the news while the two lady friends of Parvati carry flowers to Parvati Here the मिश्रविष्कम्भक ends In the main scene S'iva enters dressed as a Brahmacarin He has in his mind already decided to relent and accept Parvati. Parvati is next shown practising penance and

accompanied by her friends Jaya and Vijaya Parvati has the good omen of वामाक्षिस्पन्दन and जया suggests that her desire is probably going to be fulfilled soon Just then Jaya notices a young ascetic coming that side Parvati tells the two friends to worship the guest and she takes to silence The guest is received duly, and after usual courtesies, the young ascetic inquires about the identity and purpose of their penancing friend Learning of Parvati s objective he wonders whether there is any person worth *being hankered for by पार्वती When he learns that पार्वती is seeking to marry Siva, he expresses wonder that she should thinks of marrying such an unworthy person He indulges in a lot of censure* of Siva, but Paravati admonishes him curtly and decides to withdraw from the place to avoid hearing शिवनिन्दा, a great sin Then Siva presents himself and proposes a गान्धर्व marriage forthwith But at जया's suggestion he agrees to undergo the formality of marriage ceremony at Himavan's house after five days, and the girls return to their elders and S'iva to his to get the marriage preparations working

(Act V) The act opens with the entry of a Kancukin who is directed by हिमवान to supervise the city decorations for the marriage of पार्वती that day He finds that all the city has been becorated and has gone gay He reports the matter to हिमवान् who inquires about the arrival of all the guests viz mountains gandharvas, Apsarases etc He is told that all have come He enjoins the Kancukin to look after the proper reception of all and also see that the decoration of पार्वती is attended to in the harem Then enters Narda who greets हिमवान on the auspicious occasion Parvati's decoration is described in detail Then arrives the *bridegroom in procession The marriage rites are conducted by* Brhespati *Brahma blesses the mrriage (v 32)* Madana is revived by *the grace of Siva and the drama* ends with happiness all around

We find how Kalidasa s shadow hangs over the drama as a whole The following main points of close similarities between पार्वतीपरिणय and कुमारसम्भव (and occasionally some other works of कालिदास) shall be enough to show this

पार्वतीपरिणय.	Kalidāsa's Works.
(1) I 9, 10	(1) S'ak VII 8
(2) हिमालय is called देवतात्मा on p. 4	(2) हिमालय is called देवतात्मा in कुमार I 1
(3) I 21	(3) S'ak I 1
(4) Details about पार्वती's reactions to the मदनदाह episode in Act III	(4) Reaction to मदनदाह episode in Kumara III & V
(5) IV 9	(5) Kum V 4, 48
(6) p 30 'गृहीततनुरिव प्रथमाश्रमो युवा'	(6) Ku V 30 d 'शरीरबद्ध प्रथमाश्रमो यथा'
(7) IV 11	(7) Ku V 41
(8) P 31 "कोऽन्या... कठिनहृदय'।	(8) Ku. V 47
(9) IV 12-13	(9) Ku V 66-73
(10) P. 32 'हला साहि दाव णम्' which seems to be a corrupt form of original text which should read 'महापुरिसणिन्दाणालिणो जारिस पाव तारिस गुणवदा ता'	(10) Ku. V 83 cd.

We find that for a novice Bāṇa has given us a fairly good drama There are some good उपमाs (e g III 13, IV 29) some good सुभाषितs like 'भवितव्यता हि बलीयसी' or 'प्रकृतिकठिनानि खलु स्त्रीणा चेतांसि। In descriptions and delineation of sentiments, there is obviously a Kālidasian influence Though नाट्यशास्त्र does not permit to depict a marriage or other religious rites on the stage, Bāṇa in his पार्वतीपरिणय does not hesitate to choose as his theme the nuptials of S'iva and Pārvatī We find that after the two नान्दी verses, the सूत्रधार enters, and like a सूत्रधार in a भास play, has his own नान्दी again so to say. Was Bāṇa trying to bring a compromise between a traditional beginning and a सूत्रधारकृतारम्भ drama? Anyway पार्वतीपरिणय in some measure reminds one of Bāṇa's verse in Harṣacarita Introduction, wherein he describes some special feature of Bhāsa s dramas, and which Bāṇa in a way attempts to imitate

Lastly we come to the alleged authorship by Bāṇa of रत्नावली. In the काव्यप्रकाश we get a remark that बाण obtained money from हर्ष (cp. श्रीहर्षादेर्बाणादीनामिव धनम्—काव्यप्रकाश I). This led a few scholars to believe, relying on a Kashmir tradition that the drama रत्नावली was really written by Bāṇa and it was permitted to go under the name of Harṣa for monetary return. But this is hardly convincing For, Harṣa is the author of three dramas viz. प्रियदर्शिका, रत्नावली and नागानन्द. The prologues of all these three plays are very similar. They all specifically mention हर्ष as the author in each case. There are numerous similarities of word and thought in the three dramas which show a common authorship. None has questioned Harṣa's authorship of प्रियदर्शिका and नागानन्द nor attributed them to Bāṇa. Then how can only रत्नावलि be ascribed to Bāṇa in fairness? (Dr. P. L. Vaidya says that all these three dramas are ascribed by some to बाण. But does not mention who these 'some' are. We are not aware of them).

It should be noted that these dramas are cited by many आलङ्कारिकs and *they have not raised a doubt about Harṣa's authorship thereof. Thus for example* रत्नावलि *is referred to in* दामोदरगुप्त's कुट्टनीमत (8th cent A. D.) रत्नावलि and नागानन्द are quoted in ध्वन्यालोक (p 150 and 176 resp) The रत्नावलि is quoted at least a score of times and नागानन्द and प्रियदर्शिका on a fewer occasions in धनञ्जय's दशरूप. *But nowhere has the slightest hint* been given about *Bāṇa's* authorship of रत्नावलि or any of the other two plays Kṣemendra, the learned critic and himself a Kashmirian quotes some verses from रत्नावलि and attributes them to श्रीहर्ष [cp In the कविकण्ठाभरण—सन्धि V "इन्द्रजालपरिचयो यथा श्रीहर्षस्य एष ब्रह्मा सरोजे &c (R. IV 11), In औचित्यविचारचर्चा *he quotes* the following verses as श्रीहर्ष's—'परिम्लान &c (R. II 12); विश्रान्तविग्रहकथः &c' (R I 8), 'उद्दामोत्कलिका &c' (R II 4), भयानके यथा श्रीहर्षस्य 'कण्ठे कृत्तावशेष' अपि च 'नष्ट वर्षवरैः' &c (R. II 2-3)] Mammata himself has never said that Bāṇa got money by ascribing his रत्नावली to हर्ष. *He seems to be referring to the* wealth which बाण got from हर्ष as a court poet of the la ter As Prin. Gajendragadkar says: "The *phenomenon of king-poets*

which appears a novelty to westerners, was by no means uncommon to India. We have such glorious examples as भर्तृहरि, शूद्रक, श्रीहर्ष, यशोवर्मा, भोजराज and others." The wealth obtained by Bāṇa from Harṣa is also referred to in the verse 'हेम्नो भारशतानि' etc, quoted by us at the beginning of Chap III. As a whole the ascription of any of हर्ष's three dramas to Bāṇa's authorship seems to be totally unwarranted. And Mm. Kane, Prin. Gajendragadkar, Dr. P. L. Vaidya etc (practically all leading scholars) are on our side in this conclusion.

Chapter V

THE HARṢACARITA

" बाणस्य हर्षचरिते निशितामुदीक्ष्य शक्तिं न केऽत्र कवितास्त्रमदं त्यजन्ति। "

—सोड्ढलस्य

The Harṣacarita is a pioneer attempt in Sanskrit Literature to write a गद्यकाव्य on a historical theme But though it has a historical thread as its basis, and is a valuable record for contemporary social and historical details, in the paucity of other records, still its value as a historical document should not be over-rated For we find fancy and imagination freely mixed with the thread of actual history Several points of interest like the names and identity of the Malava and Gauḍa kings, who respectively assassinated Grahavarmā and Rājyavardhana is left obscure It is left to Hiuen Tsang to give the name of the latter as शशाङ्क, though the former is not named by him too Chronology of persons and events in the Harṣacarita is weak and confused to some extent And so even if the work gives a close picture of the society of the day, we learn very litle indeed about the political facts of the great emperor's reign as a whole

And really this need not much surprise us because Harṣacarita is written by Bāṇa more as a romantic story than as sober history A Sanskrit historical kāvya may have a historical theme, but the treatment thereof is hardly historical in style or spirit Indians, though not totally lacking a sense of history, certainly have no love for chronicling of events in a modern historian's way Perhaps the Indian mind psychologically 'is more interested in the world of imagination than the world of facts, is more attracted by mythological heroes than contemporary ones 'The Sanskrit theory of art also, in its emphasis on imaginative and impersonated creation, encouraged abstraction admitted belief in fate and miracles, and had little feeling for the concrete facts and forces of human nature and human life "Sanskrit writers of historical kavyas are more poets than historians

The Harṣacarita has a literary as well as a historical and cultural importance. It corroborates in a remarkable way the social and historical information of the Harṣa Era left to us by the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. The Harṣacarita offers us a vivid picture of the Indian society, its religion and culture, its manners and customs, its arts and industries, as these existed more than thirteen hundred years ago. Bāṇa gives masterly descriptions of court and village life, holding the mirror to the time as if "The court, the camp, the quiet villages, which then, as now, contained the great mass of population, and still more quiet monasteries and retreats whether of Brahmanas or Buddhists are all painted with singular power." Harṣacarita is thus a great social document as well. Dr Karambelkar has emphasized the importance of the हर्षचरित as (1) कविचरित्र (2) नृपचरित्र and (3) a social document of the Harṣa era.

Harṣacarita and Kādambarī are composed in the same ornate and elaborate style, both exhibit more or less the same merits and defects. But Harṣacarita is inferior to Kādambarī as a literary work. It has more artificial puns and sound effects, it has more obsolete, obscure or provincial words, its characterisation is not as minute and subtle as that in Kādambarī. "In the ease and flow of speech, in the force and vigour of thought and expression, and in the happy description of impulses, emotions and sentiments that sway human conduct, the Kādambarī vastly excels the Harṣacarita." (K) Harṣacarita shows Bāṇa's apprentice period, while Kādambarī shows him as a master artist. But Harṣacarita certainly shows Bāṇa's prospective promise as an author and shows his genius for imagery, description and characterisation. And as we have remarked earlier Harṣacarita has a special importance of its own. It is of great importance to the historian of ancient India. It gives an idea about the progress achieved in administration and communications, in medicine and other sciences in arts and crafts, in civilisation and culture as a whole. Only one regrets that Bāṇa did not write about the entire career of his patron. Another point of note about Harṣacarita is that it supplies the definite lower limit for the dates of several authors or works which Bāṇa

The Harṣacarita is a गद्यकाव्य containing eight chapters called उच्छ्वासs. At the beginnings there are 21 introductory verses The Kerala University edition gives 23 introductory verses to हर्षचरित instead of 21 of the N S P. or Kane's edition The additional verses are —

(1) अविरलमदमहैद्यप्रक्षालितसकलभूतलकलङ्का ।
मुनिभिरुपासिततीर्था सरस्वती हरतु दुरित व ॥

(2) दर्शयन्ती मुखे स्वेद प्रस्खलन्ती पदे पदे ।
कथञ्चिन्नीयते सम्या कथा नववधूरिव ॥

[(1) Comes at the very beginning before नमस्तुङ्ग०

(2) comes between सुखप्रबोध० & जयति ज्वलत्०]

At the beginning of उच्छ्वासs II to VIII there are two verses each Further a few more verses are scattered in the work. The work begins with the mythical origin of the वत्स family to which Bāṇa belongs and abruptly ends at the recovery of राज्यश्री by हर्ष in the main narrative of the हर्षचरित. We now give a detailed summary of the work.

A summary of the Harṣacarita —

(Uc. I) In the introductory verses, Bāṇa pays homoge to S'ambhu (V. 1) and Umā (V 2), then he salutes Vyāysa (V 3) in the next three verses (VV 4 6) he laments over the lack of real good poets in the world, which is only too full of poetasters and plagiarists, then he refers to some regional stylistic peculiarities (V 7) and to the essential features of good poetry (V. 8) Paying a homage to भारती कथा (V 9), Bāṇa then salutes the famous writers of आख्यायिकाs who preceded him (V, 10) Next he refers with admiration to several earlier works or authors He first refers to वासवदत्ता (obviously a गद्यकाव्य) (V 11), then to the गद्यब (prose composition) of भट्टार हरिचन्द्र (V. 12), then to सातवाहन's कोश (obviously सत्तसई) (V 13), next to प्रवरसेन's सेतु (= सेतुबन्ध) (V 14) Then he refers to भास's dramas (V 15) and Kālidasa's सूक्तिs (V 16) He then mentions बृहत्कथा (V. 17) and the उत्साहs composed by आढ्यराज (V 18) In the next verse (19) he proposes to undertake the ambitious task of writing the present आख्यायिका, then in V 20 describes some special featueres of an आख्यायिका and

winds up the introduction with an encomium to King Sṛīharṣa, his patron (V 21)

Then begins the narration of Bana's autobiography Once upon a time the divine lord Brahma was seated in his assembly, waited upon by gods and sages There was recitation of different Vedas going on and some disputes were arising amongst the learned on various academic topics Just then the irritable sage Durvasas, who was at dispute with another sage Upamanyu ('मनु' acc Kerala Uni Edn) recited a Saman with a tonal fault through anger While other sages discreetly held their peace for fear of upsetting the wrathful sage, young सरस्वती, with her girlish innocence, smiled at that error Durvasas flew into temper at once and poured water to curse the audacious सरस्वती who dared to laugh at him ! The goddess सावित्री who was seated beside Brahma got up in anger to protest against Durvasa's rashness There were protests and entreaties from gods, Durvasas's disciples and his father Atri, to Durvasas to desist from cursing सरस्वती, but Durvasas turned a deaf ear to these and cursed सरस्वती that she would go to the nether world (मर्त्यलोक) Savitri was about to give a countercurse to Durvasas, but Sarasvati interceded saying that Durvasas deserved honour as a Brahmin, if not for anything else

Brahma took Durvasas severely to task for his intemperate behaviour, illsuiting his ascetic garb, and assured सरस्वती that her curse would last only till she sees that face of a son born to her, and that सावित्री would keep her company during the sojourn in the nether world Brahma then retired from the assembly and so did Sarasvati with Savitri The sun soon set and night arrived Savitri tried to console सरस्वती who was uneasy on account of the impending departure from heaven She assured सरस्वती that she would soon get to the end of the curse period, by a devoted propitiation of Lord Siva Sarasvati replied that with सावित्री as companion she is not worried about residence on earth or the curse, but she is sorry to miss the opportunity of serving Lord Brahma Next morning सरस्वती, with सावित्री left for the mortal world She descended to earth along the c[illegible] of Ga[illegible] While descending she saw from the sky the river हिरण्यवाह or शोण

And सरस्वती and सावित्री resided in an arbour of creepers on the western bank of Sona

One day in the morning they saw a group of horsemen riding towards the place where they were staying And in the midst of that group they saw a very charming youth of eighteen And with him was a middle aged, fattish, bald companion, dressed in simple and charming garb The youth having heard from his fore-runners about the pair of young divinely beautiful girls proceeded to meet them Keeping his retinue at some distance he entered the region of the arbour along with that elderly companion of his They were offered appropriate hospitality as guests by सावित्री and सरस्वती, and after some time सावित्री in a very gracious speech inquired about them The elderly man told that the youth was दधीच son of च्यवन and सुकन्या He was born and bred till now at the house of his maternal grand-father king Saryata and now he was returning to his father s hermitage, just beyond the Sona, and that he himself was विकुक्षि, servant of शर्याति, sent as an escort to दधीच The elderly man विकुक्षि politely inquired about the identity of and information about the two young girls Savitri told that they wished to stay there for quite some time and their personal details would be known by दधीच and विकुक्षि in due course दधीच expressed a hope that they would soon come to know about these details and suggested to विकुक्षि the continuation of the journey, which they did And as they went out of sight having crossed Sona, Sarasvati who was intently looking at the youth turned away her gaze with great reluctance सरस्वती was smitten by love and became love sick Soon returned विकुक्षि on his return journey From him they learnt that दधीच also is now in a vacant mood and is emaciated He also informed that a messenger from him named मालती would soon call on them And next day Malati arrived with some servants and presented the compliments of दधीच to सरस्वती and सावित्री, both of whom were greatly drawn towards her Then when at noon Savatri had gone to Sona for her bath Malatii conveyed the message of love from दधीच to सरस्वती सरस्वती conveyed her acceptance of दधीच s love and Malati returned with the glad tidings to दधीच to bring him back to meet his sweet-

heart Dadhica came that night, the lovers were united and passed more than a year just like one day In due course सरस्वती conceived and gave birth to a son who was called सारस्वत After the birth of the son, सरस्वती with सावित्री returned to heaven as per the stipulation by Brahma, and दधीच too agonised by her separation, repaired to the penance grove, after entrusting the task of bringing up his son, to अक्षमाला, the wife of a Brahmin brother of his अक्षमाला had a son वत्स born the same day as सारस्वत, and the two boys grew together सारस्वत had inherited by his father's blessing and mother s heredity all knowledge automatically and he imparted all that to his cousin वत्स Then he established वत्स as a householder at प्रीतिकूट and himself joined his father for तपस्या at the forest From वत्स arose the famous family of the वात्स्यायनs, who were noted for the religious and scholarly attainments

After a lapse of a long time in that family was born a great person, named कुबेर He had four eminent sons अच्युत, ईशान, हर and पाशुपत पाशुपत had one son only, the illustrious अर्थपति. अर्थपति had eleven sons भृगु, हंस, शुचि, कवि, महीदत्त, धर्म, जातवेदस्, चित्रभानु, त्र्यक्ष, अहिदत्त, and विश्वरूप Out of these, चित्रभानु had from his wife राज्यदेवी a soon named बाण Bana lost his mother in his childhood And his father acted also the mother for him, very affectionatly And Bana grew up gradually and had his संस्कारs like उपनयन duly performed But when he was about fourteen, his father too died बाण was greatly grieved Gradually getting over grief, Bana for a while embarked on a wandering life in a miscellaneous company Bana by his waywardness, became an object of disparagement of the elders But after getting a varied and rich experience of the world in travelling Bana once more was attracted to his family-seat and family traditions of learning and religion And the prodigal errant, who returned, was welcomed at home with open arms

(Lc II) Bana dwelt happily at his native place which was a place replete with Vedic lore and ritual Once when summer (ग्रीष्म) had set in, the heat had become intense and there were hot winds blowing and forest conflagrations raging Bana who was

resting after meals one afternoon, was told about the arrival of a messenger from Kṛṣṇa, brother (cousin?) of Emperor Harṣa Bāṇa directed that the messenger be ushered in quickly The messenger had brought a letter and an oral message from Kṛṣṇa to Bāṇa The oral message was Kṛṣṇa has always felt a special regard for Bāṇa He found that some wicked persons, ill disposed towards Bāṇa,had poisoned the Emperorears's against बाण, and the Emperor had been finding it difficult to disbelieve so many informants But Kṛṣṇa who understood Bāṇa's worth correctly had interceded on Bāṇa's behalf with Emperor, and the latter was open to conviction about Bāṇa's goodness So Bāṇa should hasten to come to see Emperor Harṣa Bāṇa should not worry about difficulties of royal service or feel diffident to see His Majesty For Harṣa is indeed a very great monarch, who has a real appreciation of merit and a broad mind Bāṇa arranged for the rest of the messenger and that night reflected as to what he should do He felt that with no court experience or hereditary court-links or influences at royal court, and with no outstanding achievements intellectual or otherwise (Bāṇa s modesty, by the way), it would be rash perhaps to go to the King But here was the suggestion of a very affectionate yet selfless well-wisher like Kṛṣṇa to go Better he goes then

And accordingly he left प्रीतिकूट on his journey, after performing several auspicious rites In the evening on the first day he reached a village named मल्लकूट and there enjoyed the hospitality of a cousin (?) and friend जगत्पति; crossed next day river Gaṅgā and rested next night in a forest hamlet named यष्टिगृहक And next day he reached Harṣa's camp near Maṇitara (v. l Maṇipura) on the Ajiravati

In the afternoon accompained by मेखलक, he want to see emperor Harṣa On the way to Harṣa s chamber, he saw the horses of the king and also the royal elephant दर्पशात Then he was duly introduced to the august presence of Emperor Harṣa First Bāṇa was received coldly, and emperor Harṣa referred to him as "महानयं भुजङ्गः" Bāṇa made a very courteous but also very dignified and spirited self defence He said that he was

born in the illustrious family of the वात्स्यायनस्; and he had got good education befitting his heritage He was married and a responsible householder. Granted in young days he was a bit indiscreet in his activities but that was just due to juvenile immaturity and indiscretion But Emperor Harṣa should not judge him by those juvenile lapses, but by his intrinsic worth Harṣa looked at him with approbation and interest, but did not favour him immediately But soon Harṣa was convinced of Bāṇa's real worth and then extended to him every favour and consideration Bāṇa could long for (cp. स्वल्पैरेव चाहोभि. परमप्रीतेन प्रसादजन्मनो मानस्य प्रेम्णो विस्रम्भस्य द्रविणस्य नर्मण. प्रभावस्य च परा कोटिमनीयत नरेन्द्रेणेति ।)

(Uc III) Once at the advent of autumn (शरद्) Bāṇa came back to ब्राह्मणाधिवास to meet his kith and kin He was received very warmly and enthusiastically He inquired whether his relatives were quite happy during his absense and whether all their activites were going on as usual—their sacrificial performances, Vedic studies, Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā discussions and poetic pursuits They told him that they were quite happy in their Brahmanic pursuits Bāṇa had long conversation with them on various matters He was treated to a recital of the वायुपुराण by reader सुदृष्टि in the afternoon

Then Bāṇa's four cousins गणपति, अधिपति, तारापति and श्यामल, who were eager to hear about the life of Bāṇa's patron, Emperor Harṣa, requested Bāṇa through the youngest of themselves, Śyāmala, Bāṇa's greatest favourite, to narrate about the life of Harṣa. Bāṇa pleaded his inability to do full justice to such an eminent subject, but promised to narrate a portion of Harṣa's life, to the best of his ability; and that he would commence the account next day as it was already evening then (Here ends the autobiographical portion in the हर्षचरित)

Next morning Bāṇa began to narrate the life of Harṣa. There was a prosperous country by name श्रीकण्ठ It was noted for religion and prosperity. In that country there was a province named स्थाण्वीश्वर It was also marked by plenty and prosperity.

The ladies of स्थाण्वीश्वर were very beautiful and sophisticated There was a king पुष्पभूति who ruled there He was a great devotee of S'iva and his subjects also imitated him He once heard of an eminent महाशैव named भैरवाचार्य and came to have a great devotion for him, even on hearing of him

Once evening the doorkeeper announced the arrival of an ascetic (परिव्राड मस्करी) who came from Bhairavacarya The ascetic was immediately admitted to the royal presence with great respect The asetic presented the king with five silver lotuses sent by Bhairavācary, which the king reverentailly accepted and promised to call of Bhairavācarya the nextday He accordingly went next day to see him The king was affectionately greeted by the sage and he too very reverentially saluted the sage and sat on a cloth-seat nearby They had a talk for a while the king returned to his palace Next Bhairavacarya paid a return-visit to the king He refused politely the wealth offered by पुष्पभूति

The ascetic emissary used to give five silver lotuses as presents to पुष्पभूति, whenever he called on the latter One day he brought a bright sword named अट्टहास as a gift from भैरवाचार्य to पुष्पभूति a sword which पातालस्वामिन, a Brahmin disciple of भैरवाचार्य had snatched from the hands of a ब्रह्मराक्षस The king accepted the sword as a great favour

One day Bhairavacārya called the king and requested him to help him in वेतालसाधना on the next कृष्णचतुर्दशी night in a deserted temple near a श्मशान, along with three other disciples of his viz the ascetic emissary टीटिभ, the Brahmin पातालस्वामिन and a द्रविड named कर्णताल The king very gladly accepted the assignment, and on the appointed night, secretly left his palace, अट्टहास in hand, and reached the rendezvous The rites for attainment of विद्याधरत्व by भैरवाचार्य were started Suddenly there arose a ferocious figure from the ground,—a नाग named श्रीकण्ठ who knocked out the other three assistants But king पुष्पभूति challenged him, and in a single combat threw him to the ground But when about to behead him by drawing his अट्टहास, he saw the नाग's यज्ञोपवीत and spared him

· Just then in the अट्टहास in his hand he saw a vision of लक्ष्मी, who announced that she was pleased with his valour and asked him to choose any boon The devout king asked for भैरवाचार्य's सिद्धि, which was granted. And लक्ष्मी further announced that in view of this self-less magnanimity of the king, there would arise from him a new great राजवंश, compeer of the सूर्यवंश and चन्द्रवंश, in which would be born a great Emperor Harṣa, on whom she would personally wait. With these words Lakṣmī disappeared. Bhairavācārya obtained विद्याधरत्व. He profusely thanked the king and offered to do something by way of his gratitude to the king, who, however, said that the achievement by Bhairavācārya of his objective was reward enough for the king himself. Bhairavācārya then went to his appropriate higher region. The नाग श्रीकण्ठ placing himself at पुष्पभूति's behest went back with his consent to the nether world. पुष्पभूति came next morning with three associates, to his capital. He treated the three colleagues very hospitably. Of these three, the परिव्राट् टीटिभ left for forest later on, inspite of the king's requests otherwise; while पातालस्वामिन् and कर्णताल took service with the king and lived with him ever after for life.

(Uc. IV) From पुष्पभूति arose a famous वंश, adorned by eminent monarchs. In due course was born in that family an illustrious king प्रभाकरवर्धन, who was a राजाधिराज. He had an equally illustrious wife यशोमती. प्रभाकरवर्धन was a great devotee of the sun. He everyday worshipped the sun and thrice a day recited an आदित्यमन्त्र for the sake of progeny.

One day in the early hours of morning यशोमती rose from her sleep crying for help. The king immediately got up and asked what the trouble was. यशोमती told that she saw in a dream two young lustrous boys, emerging from sun's orb, accompanied by a young girl, and attempting to enter the belly of herself, cutting it open; and she got up shouting.

Just then several good omens presented themselves. The king reassured the Queen that the dream was very auspicious and suggestive that three children would be born to her in due course. The Queen was very happy to learn this

Then was born in due course, first Prince Rājyavardhana Then next was born the second son हर्षवर्धन Harṣavardhana was born on बहु द्वादशी of the month of ज्येष्ठ on कृत्तिका नक्षत्र The time of birth was early night The ग्रह were all in उच्चस्थानs Astrologically he was destined to be a great Cakravartin There were several good omens A great पुत्रजन्मोत्सव was celebrated

Then when Harṣa began to take his first steps with the aid of of nurse, and when राज्यवर्धन was in his sixth year, यशोमती conceived again and the daughter राज्यश्री was born About that very time यशोमती's brother sent his son, about eight years old, as a companion for the two princes His name was Bhaṇḍin, and he was a very eminently gifted boy.

Prince Rajyavardhana and Harṣa grew into very valorous and intelligent princes Their father gave them as their companions two Malava princes कुमारगुप्त and माधवगुप्त, who were very able and trust-worthy and who were to be treated as confidante friends Kumāragupta then was eighteen years old and was of medium build. His younger brother माधवगुप्त was fairly tall and fair in complexion They became the trusted companions of राज्यवर्धन and हर्ष.

Rājyaśrī also grew into a very accomplished princess Her hand was sought by many princes She was betrothed to Grahavarma, the son of Avantivarma of the Maukhari family The marriage of Rājyaśrī was soon celebrated with due pomp After staying for a while at प्रभाकरवर्धन's place, ग्रहवर्मा returned to his place with राज्यश्री

(Uc. V) Once king प्रभाकरवर्धन sent his young son राज्यवर्धन who had become कवचहर to conquer the Hunas in the north हर्ष accompanied राज्यवर्धन on his march for some days, and when राज्यवर्धन went ahead towards far north हर्ष remained behind to enjoy मृगया in forests for a while, before returning home One morning there he had a dream in which he saw a lion perishing in a forest conflagration and his lioness jumping in that fire, abandoning the cubs On awakening Harṣa was made uneasy by this

dream He had illomens too In the afternoon he saw कुरङ्गक a messenger from his father arriving with a report of his father s being down with heavy fever Harsa proceeded homewards immediately even without taking food, having given in charity all his possessions He had many ill omens on the way He reached the capital after incessant march and entered the palace which was a picture of sullen despondency, with desparate efforts being made to save the king s life by every means possible Harṣa saw his father, seriously ill He was embraced by his father very affectionately even in that condition and was pressed to take food after having fasted for three day in transit Harṣa could practically see the writing on the wall He asked the frank opinion of the young physician रसायन, who promised to tell it next day and next day Harṣa heard that रसायन had courted death by अग्निप्रवेश rather than convey the unfortunate news of प्रभाकरवर्धन s impending end to Harṣa यशोमती decided to practise 'Sati (self immolation) before प्रभाकरवर्धन's death Harṣa tried to presuade his mother to desist from that resolve But she did not relent She committed herself to F e and at sunset Prabhakaravardhana also breathed his last Harṣa remained anxiously awaiting the return of Rajyavardhana

(Uc VI) Soon Rajyavardhana returned immersed in grief, there was a touching meeting of the two brothers Next day राज्यवर्धन announced his intention to abdicate in favour of हर्ष, because राज्यवर्धन had a mind to retire to forest and was not feeling equal to undertake the taxing labour of rulership Harṣa could ... t of such a thing and he too decided to follow राज्यवर्धन to forest

Just then came संवादक, a servant of राज्यश्री, with the sad report of ग्रहवर्मन s murder by the king of Malavas and the imprisonment of राज्यश्री in a jail at Kanyakubja He also reported that the Malava king was likely to atta k the kingdom of स्थाण्वीश्वर as well

Rajyavardhana immediately started an expedition against the Malava king having ह… to look after the kingdom He vowed the annihilation of the Malavas as h … …a, and marched

out accompanied by Bhaṇḍin and an अयुत of horsemen Harṣa pleaded for permission to accompany him but राज्यवर्धन told him that this time he only shall go Harṣa would have enough scope in later life is display his valour They need not carry too many guns against a trifling enemy like the Malava king !

But Harṣa soon heard of the heartrending news of the murder of राज्यवर्धन by the king of Gaudas after enticing him in confidence to his house after राज्यवर्धन had defeated the Malavas This news enraged Harṣa very much His general सिंहनाद also recommended strong action by हर्ष to uproot the Gauda king and all other enemies Harṣa vowed to extirpate the Gauda king and also to establish universal sovereigenty by conquering all kings of India His गजाध्यक्ष gave him a sound advice of moving warily in the world and not believing too much in any one The enemies had several ill omens

(Uc VII) Then after some days Harṣa embarked on his expedition f e camps the doorkee king of प्राग्जोतिप आभोग to श्रीहर्ष It was a wonderful parasol for ' इद न सन्ताचिदहृति, न पृषदश्वो हरति नोदकमाद्रयति न रजांसि मलिनयति, न जरा जजरयति । " (p 374) He also conveyed the message of king कुमार (alias भास्करवर्मा) who wanted lifelong friendship with emperor Harṣa Har a accepted the request and sent हंसवेग with appropriate presents to the king of प्राग्ज्योतिप

The marches went on One day हर्ष found भण्डिन returning bringing the conquered armies of Malava conquered by राज्यवर्धन After a touching meeting हर्ष learnt from Bhaṇḍin that after राज्यवर्धन died and कुशस्थल (i e कान्यकुब्ज) was in this hands of one गुप्त राज्यश्री had escaped from imprisonment and entered the Vindhya forest But efforts to trace her were yet unsuccessful Harṣa decided to take up the task of searching राज्यश्री personally asking Bhaṇḍin to proceed ahead with the army He next day saw the booty obtained by राज्यवर्धन in the fight with the Malavas and then started towards विन्ध्याटवी in quest of राज्यश्री and soon reached a forest hamlet in it

would reveal to us Baṇa's deep understanding of human nature and his ability to give vivid portraits of different persons with their individual traits and peculiarities

Bāṇa. We begin with a charactersketch of Baṇa by Baṇa For Bāṇa is the hero of the earlier autobiographical portion of the *Harṣacarita* Baṇa shows himself to be an impartial observer and judge of his own assets and defects Bāṇa as we have already mentioned earlier, was born in a family of rich monetary and educational traditions But he lost his mother very early and was brought up with great affection by his father, who acted also the mother to him Naturally Bāṇa became very fond of his father and this trait we find particularly presented in the Kadambarī in the parrot's story of its early life Baṇa unfortunately lost his father too when he was about fourteen years old and then Baṇa for some years led a wandering life a thing not approved by his elders but which was obviously a result of boyish curiosity to see the world And one should have no regret that Baṇa chose this wandering life for a while Because it was in these years of travel, when people were mocking him that Bāṇa harvested a rich and varied experience of life He got acquainted in those travels with courts and courtiers gurukulas and scholars men of varied professions and walks of life and assemblies of the learned and the elite The spark of inborn genius got a special brilliance by this direct touch with life, and by the time he returned to re-embark on his academic career and to commence his literary career, he was possessed of a rich background of experience of life which rarely could have been equalled by others Baṇa was very fond of his native place and his kith and kin, and be began his life as a young householder at प्रीतिकूट, the family seat of वत्सस And then came the call of the court Baṇa hesitated for some time Being a man of great modesty, he wondered whether he had abilities enough to succeed at the court But he left for the court at least to justify Kṛṣṇa s good intentions towards himself When he found in the first interview with Harṣa the emperor mildly rebuking him with 'the words 'महान अय भुजग ', he gave a very spirited defence of himself This shows how he was very self respecting At the same time Bāṇa

varied role as a पत्नी, माता and राज्ञी with great charm and dignity But she is the Indian wife par excellence, to whom her husband is all in all, and she courts death when she finds that प्रभाकरवर्धन's end is near The system of सती is a system questioned for good reasons, and questioned by Bana himself in his कादम्बरी, but none can question यशोमती's great love for प्रभाकरवर्धन which made her take that extreme step

Rajyavardhana Rajayavardhana like this earth's sweetest flowers, died young But even in that brief but glorious career राज्यवर्धन has left immortal fame as an obedient son, affectionate brother and great hero Temperamentally he was a man of peace He had a great admiration and devotion for Buddha He was a परमसौगत He wanted to abdicate the throne in favour of his younger brother but cruel fate made him abdicate the world But he died at the post of duty Revenge for ग्रहवर्मन्'s murder was a prior duty before he could renounnce the world He took the revenge before being himself murdered by a treacherous adversary

Harṣavardhana Harṣavardhana is the hero of the Harṣacasita He is one of the greatest monarchs of ancient India A great hero, a great patron of learning, a great writer himself and a person of great religious tolerance, he can be rightly called a great राजर्षि in the true Indian style His birth was heralded by a prophesy of Lakṣmī His mother had before his birth दोहद which typified the child to be born She would like to bathe in the waters of the four oceans, to see her reflection is a shining sword to take up bow, leaving aside the lute and to see lions in captivity All these were prognostications of the Universal Sovereign to be born When he was born, astrologers predicted his great career and fortune Even as a young prince Harṣa showed his great promise as a hero and administrator.

Harṣa was greatly attached to his parents, brother and sister It was his great misfortune to lose his parents, his sister's husband and his (own) brother, very quickly, one after other But adversity brought out the best in him and he heroically vowed to extirpate all enemies and become the Sovereign of India and he [illegible]ved both these objectives When he started on his expedition

Commentaries on the Harṣacarita —Kṛṣṇamacariar enumerates five commentaries on Harṣacarita The authors of these are शङ्कर, रङ्गनाथ, रुचक (or रुय्यक), राजानक and शङ्करस्वण Out of these the first two are available in print (1) सङ्केत by शङ्कर is the one commentary which is widely known It is very valuable for the understanding of many obscure words or puns But it is often very meagre We do not know much about the life or date of this शङ्कर He probably hailed from Kashmir because his commentary is only found in Kashmir His father's name is पुण्याकर He invokes Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his commentary He has obviously consulted earlier exegesis on the book and he frequently refers to earlier commentators by the words like केचित, अन्ये, अपरे etc He acknowledges the debt to these earlier commentators in a verse at the end of his work " दुर्बोधे हर्षचरिते सम्प्रदायानुरोधत । गूढोर्थमुद्रणा चक्रे शङ्करो विदुषा कृते।।" He has mentioned उदभट s, काव्यालङ्कार, ध्वन्यालोक and राजशेखर This would indicate that he came after 9th cent A D A ms of सङ्केत is dated सवत (ostensibly विक्रमसवत्) 1520 i e 1464 A D Further शङ्कर, probably a Kashmirian himself does not refer to eminent Kashmirian आलङ्कारिकs like मम्मट or रुय्यक but quotes ancient Kashmirian आलङ्कारिकs like भामह and उदभट So probably he seems to have flourished before 12th cent A D Mm Kane notes how शङ्कर has referred to some 'vernacular' words, which may furnish some clue to his provenance (e g On the word गुञ्जा he remarks 'ससा' इति यस्य प्रसिद्धि, on प्रौढिक he says योग्या सानार्थं प्रसेवक यो 'सुवरण' इति प्रसिद्ध, on लम्बापटहा he says 'तमिला इति प्रसिद्धा).

(ii) Harṣacarita published by Kerala University in 1958 contains a commentary on हर्षचरित by रङ्गनाथ The commentary is named मर्मावबोधिनी This is much more exhaustive than सङ्केत by शङ्कर, and is very helpful for the understanding of the text "From the prefatory verses we know that रङ्गनाथ was the son of श्रीकृष्णार्य and belonged to the गोष्ठीकुल, and that he was the disciple of नारायणार्य He gives Malayalam equivalents to several difficult words a fact which seems to suggest that the author might have been a native of Kerala or at at any rate one who was

proficient in Malayalam. It is also noteworthy that the commentator has adopted the Kerala readings in preference to other readings " (Kerala Uni Edn.)

(iii) It appears that रुय्यक, the famous author of अलङ्कारसर्वस्व had written a commentary called हर्षचरितवार्तिक on the हर्षचरित cp. एषा (उत्प्रेक्षा) च समस्तोपमाप्रतिपादकविषयेऽपि हर्षचरितवार्तिके साहित्यमीमांसायां च तेषु तेषु प्रदेशेषूदाहृता ।"—अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p 61. The author of the commentary on the व्यक्तिविवेक of महिमभट्ट, who is generally regarded to be the same as Ruyyaka also refers to his own commentary on the हर्षचरित called हर्षचरितवार्तिक cp "एतदस्माभिर्हर्षचरितवार्तिके विस्तृत्य प्रतिपादितम्, तत एवावसेयम् ।—p. 44 of the comm on the व्यक्तिविवेक (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). It is a pity that this ancient commentary by such an eminent critic has not yet seen the light of the day. If and when found, it is bound to help in settling the meaning of many a doubtful word or passage and in settling corruptions in the text of हर्षचरित We do not know any details about the other two commentaries beyond heir names

Two casual points of note are: (1) According to the learned ranslators of Harsacarita (Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas), Harsacarita was generally forgotton by Indian writers, and that only rare copies of the work existed in the libraries They mention only साहित्यदर्पण and काव्यप्रकाश referring to हर्षचरित. But Mm Kane shows how आनन्दवर्धन, नमिसाधु and रुय्यक also have referred to हर्षचरित He also tells that Harsacarita was carefully preserved and studied in Kashmir at least. (For Kalhaṇa's indebtedness to the Harṣacarita cp Dr. Stein's Kalhaṇa vol. I p. 133).

(2) In भोज's शृङ्गारप्रकाश (chap 20) there is a quotation: यथा हर्षचरिते नव,

'तस्य च सुता कुमारी रूपवती सर्वलक्षणोपेता ।
तां नवत प्रयच्छति हर्षो महिते महस्थानि ॥

This shows thee existence of another हर्षचरित. This seems to have no connection with our हर्षचरित

CHAPTER VI

THE KĀDAMBARĪ

"कादम्बरीरसभरेण समस्त एव
मत्तो न किञ्चिदपि चेतयते जनोऽयम् ॥"

—भूषणबाण in कादम्बरी उत्तरभाग

Bāṇa's Kādambarī is a peerless work in Sanskrit prose Romance, and is famous for its supreme literary merit. It became later on a word signifying the type 'Novel' in some vernaculars. The name is true to its captivating grace, for कादम्बरी is name of 'wine'. And Kādambarī maddens the heart and gladdens the soul, like the proverbial liquor. And Bhūṣaṇa assures us that readers intoxicated by the wine of Bāṇa's poetry would hardly notice the inferiority of his supplement to his father's magnum opus. cp (कादम्बरीरसभरेण समस्त एव मत्तो न किञ्चिदपि चेतयते जनोऽयम् । भीतोऽस्मि यन्न रसवर्णविवर्जितेन तच्छेषमात्मवचसाप्यनुसन्दधान ॥—कादम्बरी उत्तरभाग Intro v 7). Another proverb also tells us how the relish of कादम्बरी makes one forget food a la wine. (कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते । कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ॥), Govardhanācārya feels that Sarasvatī personally has taken the form of Bāṇa (वाणी बाणो बभूव). "Bāṇa's words breathe a freshness of vigour that bespeaks a warm and sincere admiration of the profusion of nature which the Indian scenery offers to the poetic mind. And in this respect he has very few equals even amongst oriental poets." (Kṛṣṇamācariar). The Kādambarī is hailed by all as the greatest work in the field of Sanskrit गद्यकाव्य. Apṭe has Ācārya Pathak said that if Harṣacarita is a historical narrative of this world, the Kadambarī is a poetic presentation bringing heaven to the earth.

"Bāṇa's farfamed Kadambarī is rightly reckoned as his masterpiece. In it his imagination takes rapid and sublime flight—thought succeeds thought and one simile is followed by another till the chain is so extended that one loses sight of the master idea which is smothered in his luxuriant imagery. His memory surveys the whole field of Indian history and mythology and his extensive

acquaintance with Sanskrit vocabulary brings in words and expressions not familiar to even advanced students of the language It is especially popular among the Pandits on account of this feature as well as its unique character But it is inaccessible to ordinary students owing to its most difficult and long compounds, as well as obscure and double meaning words, and allusious to strange mythological events " (Kale).

A Summary of the Kādambarī.—Bāna begins Kādambarī with a salutation to the Unborn Supreme Being which is the cause of the उत्पत्ति, स्थिति and लय of the Universe Next he salutes the dust from the feet of Lord S'iva. Then homage is paid to Visnu (उपेन्द्र) Then Bana salutes his Guru Bharvu who was honoured by the मौखरिस and their vassals There is then a censure of the wicked, a praise of the good and a praise of सुभाषित i e good literature Then Baṇa tells us how a कथा which is स्फुरत्कलालाप-विलासकोमला delights like an अभिनवा वधू In v 9 are indicated the qualities of a good कथा (i) नवपदार्थs (ii) निरन्तर श्लेष (iii) सुजाति (The earlier verse has emphasized 'sweet diction' and 'rasas') In v 10 is mentioned Kubera, an illustrious scion of the वात्स्यायनवंश, who was honoured by many a Guptas (अनेकगुप्तार्चित-पादपङ्कज) His was a house replete with Vedic traditions of lreaning and ritual His son was अर्थपति who was also a great teacher and a g eat sacrificer One of अर्थपति's sons was चित्रभानु चित्रभानु was a person of noble virtues and was a great sacrificer. His son was बाणभट्ट He has composed this 'अतिद्वयी कथा' viz कादम्बरी Ne beg ns the narrative

There was a great Indra-like King, S'ūdraka by name He was a very powerful ruler and ruled his subjects with great efficiency and affection His capital was the city of विदिशा on the river वेत्रवती He was aided by many competent ministers in his governance. And he was accompanied by several talented princes of like age and aptitudes He was temperamentally averse to lovesports, and even with a bevy of beautiful queens, passeed his time away from lovesports, in various intellectual or artistic pursuits

One day, in early morning a doorkeeper reported to the king of the arrival of a certain चाण्डालकन्या with a parrot in a cage in her

hand, and her seeking an inter-view with the king The king directed that she be ushered in The Cāṇḍala girl, after entering the royal assembly, struck the ground with her bamboo staff, thereby attracting the attention of the members of the assembly towards herself The king looked at her intently with amazement as she entered led by an aged मातङ्ग and followed by a चाण्डाल boy carrying a parrot in a cage. The king wondered why the craetor created such a flawless form in the Cāṇḍāla community The girl made obeissance to the king, and then the old मातङ्ग presented the parrot to the king on behalf of the young Cāṇḍāla princess. He told that parrot was an extraordinarily gifted bird and deserved to be possessed by Emperor S'ūdraka

The parrot uttered a verse in praise of the king, who was greatly impressed thereby. At noon the king left the assemby-hall directing the Caṇḍalakanyā to rest and the parrot to be taken inside. He had his bath, performed S'iva worship, after duly. paying homage to the manes and the sun. Then he had his food, Then in the afternoon, while resting in his आस्थानमण्डप he got वैशम्पायन the parrot fetched there And there the king requested the parrot to tell its whole narrative as to where it was born, who were its parents, how it has obtained the Vedic and S'āstric lore, whether it was some being who had become a bird, how it happened to fall in the hands of Caṇḍālas and the like. The parrot said ' Your majesty, it is quite a long tale, may your majesty be pleased to hear it if you so desire

The Parrot's Narrative:—There is a great forest on the Vindhya mountain. Therein there was a hermitage which was once inhabited by अगस्त्य, लोपामुद्रा and their son दृढदस्यु. That hermitage was hallowed by many a memory connected with the stay there of राम, सीता and लक्ष्मण in their वनवास. Near about that place was the beautiful lake पम्पा. On the western bank of पम्पा there was a mighty शाल्मली tree On that tree there dwelt hundreds of birds There I was born as a lone child of my parents, in a hollow of that tree My mother died of the pains of child-labour, and my aged father brought me up with all care and affection.

One day early in the morning there arose a great uproar of a hunting expedition. I sheltered in the wings of my father, through terror. Soon came a big group of hunters raising loud shouts There were shrieks and screams of wild animals and barking of dogs And then a sort of calm descended on the area. I tried to have a peeping look at things outside from the hollow

I saw then a big Sabara army marching towards our place, and in the midst of that I saw the commander of the S'abaras, whose name I learnt to be मातङ्गक later on. He came and rested under the S'almali tree for a while and marched ahead with his army But an old S'abara tarried behind, cast his covetous, greedy eyes at the tree and climbed it to catch the young ones of parrots in the hollows He went on killing them one after another, dropping them on the ground, and gradually he reached our hollow,pulled out my father, killed him and threw his body down, not noticing—luckily for me—me ,who was concealed under my father's wings I luckily fell on a heap of dry leaves, and before the S'abara came down I somehow crawled some distance away to the foot of a big Tamala tree When the S'abara climbed down and collecting his kill went in the same direction as his commander, I, now impelled by extreme thirst, tried to move towards some water reservoir. While inching my way with great difficulty I reflected over the urge to survive, which is uppermost than anything in beings How I was keen on survival, rather than follow my father in death —my father who had done so much and so affectionately for me right from the day of my birth, when my mother died, inspite of the advanced age of his I found the sun very hot, the water front was fairly away still I felt dazed and almost longed for death Just then हारीत a hermit boy, son of the great sage जाबालि, whose आश्रम was nearby, came to that lotus-lake for his bath He took compassion on me, on noticing me, took me to the water-front, put a few drops of water in my beak, whereby I felt refreshed, and when he returned home after his bath he took me home. I saw the holy आश्रम, that resembled Brahmaloka

There I saw the sage जाबालि I was struck by the spiritual eminence of the sage and by the atmosphere of the hermitage,

hand, and her seeking an inter-view with the king. The king directed that she be ushered in. The Caṇḍāla girl, after entering the royal assembly, struck the ground with her bamboo staff, thereby attracting the attention of the members of the assembly towards herself. The king looked at her intently with amazement as she entered led by an aged मातङ्ग and followed by a चाण्डाल boy carrying a parrot in a cage. The king wondered why the creator created such a flawless form in the Cāṇḍāla community. The girl made obeisance to the king and then the old मातङ्ग presented the parrot to the king on behalf of the young Cāṇḍāla princess. He told that parrot was an extraordinarily gifted bird and deserved to be possessed by Emperor S'ūdraka.

The parrot uttered a verse in praise of the king who was greatly impressed thereby. At noon the king left the assemby-hall directing the Caṇḍālakanyā to rest and the parrot to be taken inside. He had his bath, performed Śiva worship, after duly paying homage to the manes and the sun. Then he had his food. Then in the afternoon while resting in his आस्थानमण्डप he got वैशम्पायन the parrot fetched there. And there the king requested the parrot to tell its whole narrative as to where it was born, who were its parents, how it has obtained the Vedic and S'āstric lore, whether it was some being who had become a bird, how it happened to fall in the hands of Caṇḍālas and the like. The parrot said: "Your majesty, it is quite a long tale, may your majesty be pleased to hear it if you so desire."

The Parrot's Narrative.—There is a great forest on the Vindhya mountain. Therein there was a hermitage which was once inhabited by अगस्त्य, लोपामुद्रा and their son दृढदस्यु. That hermitage was hallowed by many a memory connected with the stay there of राम, सीता and लक्ष्मण in their वनवास. Near about that place was the beautiful lake पम्पा. On the western bank of पम्पा there was a mighty शाल्मली tree. On that tree there dwelt hundreds of birds. There I was born as a lone child of my parents, in a hollow of that tree. My mother died of the pains of child labour, and my aged father brought me up with all care and affection.

One day early in the morning there arose a great uproar of a hunting expedition I sheltered in the wings of my father, through terror Soon came a big group of hunters raising loud shouts There were shrieks and screams of wild animals and barking of dogs And then a sort of calm descended on the area. I tried to have a peeping look at things outside from the hollow

I saw then a big Sabara army marching towards our place, and in the midst of that I saw the commander of the Sabaras, whose name I learnt to be मातङ्गक later on He came and rested under the S'almali tree for a while and marched ahead with his army But an old Sabara tarried behind, cast his covetous, greedy eyes at the tree and climbed it to catch the young ones of parrots in the hollows He went on killing them one after another, dropping them on the ground, and gradually he reached our hollow,pulled out my father, killed him and threw his body down, not noticing—luckily for me—me ,who was concealed under my father's wings I luckily fell on a heap of dry leaves and before the S'abara came down I somehow crawled some distance away to the foot of a big Tamala tree When the S'abara climbed down and collecting his kill went in the same direction as his commander, I, now impelled by extreme thirst, tried to move towards some water reservoir While inching my way with great difficulty I reflected over the urge to survive, which is uppermost than anything in beings How I was keen on survival, rather than follow my father in death —my father who had done so much and so affectionately for me right from the day of my birth, when my mother died, inspite of the advanced age of his I found the sun very hot, the water front was fairly away still I felt dazed and almost longed for death Just then हारीत a hermit boy, son of the great sage जाबालि, whose आश्रम was nearby, came to that lotus-lake for his bath He took compassion on me on noticing me took me to the water front, put a few drops of water in my beak, whereby I felt refreshed, and when he returned home after his bath he took me home. I saw the holy आश्रम, that resembled Brahmaloka

There I saw the sage जाबालि I was struck by the spiritual eminence of the sage and by the atmosphere of the hermitage,

where all animosities seemed to have subsided हारीत placed *me under an As'oka tree and saluted his father, and sat on a* Darbha seat nearby The sages in the hermitage asked him about the information relating to me Harita narrated how he found me under a tree, how he could not climb the tall tree to replace me in my hollow and how he brought me to the hermitage to be reared up till I grew up and became capable of flying in the sky Then I may go or stay as I choose Jabali's attention too was drawn towards me, he looked at me with compassion, remembered my earlier life and remarked "This bird is reaping the fruit of his folly (in previous birth)" The sages in the hermitage eagerly *solicited* जाबालि *to narrate the story of my previous life The sage* replied, "It is a long tale, and now evening is fast approaching Let us complete our evening rites, and let this parrot also be refreshed. Then I would narrate you the story by which the parrot would also remember his earlier birth" Then night fell When after evening rites and food the sages gathered together, हारीत requested his father to tell the narrative about me And sage Jabali began his narrative as follows (Here ends the कथामुख and Jabali's narrative begins)

Jabali's Narrative —There was in the country of Avantis a city named उज्जयिनी on the bank of Sipra, hallowed by the presence of the Mahakala The city was ruled by an eminent king named तारापीड He was the sovereign of the entire Indian subcontinent His was a very prosperous kingdom He had a very wise minister by name शुकनास He left the task of administering the well established kingdom to the able minister शुकनास and *enjoyed various pleasures of youth* But as he began to advance in age gradually and still was childless, he was very much worried and dejected by childlessness The chief Queen of that king was Vilasavati, a very beautiful and noble woman

One day, the king visiting her apartments found her in great dejection, weeping He very solicitously inquired of the cause of her grief But finding that she did not reply to his querry, he inquired of the attendants And then the Queen s betel bearer maid Makarika told the king that the grief of sonlessness was the

cause of her anguish She has been grieving over it for quite some time but just that day which was a चतुर्दशी, she had been to worship Mahakala and she heard from the Mahabharata reader there that a sonless person does not attain heaven This had increased her grief all the more

The king consoled the Queen with a very feeling and eloquent advice He recommended to her to still increase her practice of divine worship vows and holy rites for पुत्रप्राप्ति The Queen did accordingly

One day in the early hours of morning तारापीड saw in a dream the orb of the moon entering the mouth of विलासवती He told about that dream to शुकनास, who told the king that it was a very auspicious dream which indicated the birth of a son to the king and the queen very soon Even शुकनास had a propitious dream that very day when he saw a Brahmin place a lotus in the lap of शुकनास s wife मनोरमा This indicated the birth of a son to शुकनास and मनोरमा The king along with शुकनास saw the Queen and told her about both these auspicious dreams

In due course विलासवती conceived The news was conveyed to the king by a maid कुलवर्धना The king was highly delighted and so too was the Queen A son was born in due course The पुत्रजन्मोत्सव was observed with great eclat. Very soon after that time a son was born to शुकनास and मनोरमा The two boys grew up and when they were of the schooling age the king got a special विद्यामन्दिर prepared staffed it with a highly qualified staff and put Candrapida (his son) with Vaisampayana (शुकनास s son) in that विद्यामंदिर And Candrapida soon mastered all the lores of the day He and Vaisampayana became intimate friends

Then when चन्द्रापीड completed his education the king sent his general बलाहक to bring him from the विद्यामन्दिर At that time an excellent horse इन्द्रायुध was presented to चन्द्रापीड by the king चन्द्रापीड was wonderstruck to see the matchless horse

Candrapida mounted Indrayudha and accompanied by a posse of princes on horseback sent by his father, started for the city As he entered the city people thronged in streets and doors

to see him The prince duly reached the palace He paid his respects to his father and mother Then he paid respects to शुकनास And then he came to the mansion earmarked for him At night he again called on his parents paid homage to them *returned to his palace and slept for the night*

Next morning he went on a hunting expedition Next day he was given an attendant maiden named पत्रलेखा, a daughter of the king of Kulutas she was to be treated with great consideration and confidence Candrapida found her a very devoted attendant In due course तारापीड planned for the यौवराज्याभिषक of चन्द्रापीड On the eve of this यौवराज्याभिषेक, शकनास gave a very worthy advice to चन्द्रापीड He advised चन्द्रापीड to be on the guard against the indiscretions of youth and passion and the wayward behaviour of wealth Then an on auspicious day चन्द्रापीड was installed as a युवराज• *Next चन्द्रापीड started on a दिग्विजययात्रा He conquered the whole* world in three years and after going round the whole world in that way, he happened to reach सुवर्णपुर a residence of Kiratas, which was near Kailasa and eastern ocean (?) and there he decided to halt for a while to refresh his armies

One day he espied there a किन्नरमिथुन and went in pursuit thereof He quickly went for a distance of 15 योजनस in that single pursuit and ultimately found the couple scaling the heights of a lofty peak, with himself stranded behind Then he realised the vainness of his pursuit and knowing that northern limit of the world ended the north of सुवर्णपुर, and then there lay a forest uninhabited by man and then came Kailasa, which he had already reached, he turned back to seek his way to his camp by keeping to the south But as it was noon, he thought of refreshing his horse and himself by some water and some fodder for his horse So he started in quest of some lake And soon he came across a very beautiful lake named अच्छोद He refreshed himself and Indrayudha there and rested for some time Then he heard the notes of music *Going in quest of their origin he saw a Siva* temple There he saw a young girl very white in complexion playing on *the lute and singing in praise of the Lord He got* down from his horse tied his horse to a branch of a tree and went

to the S'iva temple, saluted S'iva and intently gazed at that divine damsel. He was very much struck by her divine beauty and form, he became eager to inquire about her personal information and so waited there patiently till the singing came to an end When the song ended, Mahās'vetā noticed Candrāpīda and requested him to accept her hospitality as a guest,which he did after profuse requests to be spared of these formalities After partaking of the simple fare offered, Candrāpida very modestly requested the young girl to tell about herself The girl remained silent for a moment and then began to shed tears And then she proceeded to narrate her account as follows —

Mahās'veta's Narrative.—There are fourteen families of Aparases and two families of गन्धर्वs One of the families of गन्धर्वs was ruled by चित्ररथ son of दक्षप्रजापति's daughter मुनि and the other गन्धर्व family was ruled by हंस, the son of दक्षप्रजापति's another daughter अरिष्टा. This हंस was married to गौरी who was born in that family of Aparases which was born from सोम I was born as the only daughter of that couple, and was very fondly brought up by my parents and duly attained youth One day, with my mother I came for bath to the अच्छोद lake Then while wandering here and there I smelt an extremely divine fragrance And being attracted by it, I moved ahead and saw a very lustrous and beautiful मुनिकुमार accompanied by another young ascetic boy as his companion.

And beholding that matchlessly beautiful young ascetic I fell in love with him And when I, trying to curb my emotion, saluted him, he too forthwith fell in love with me. I then inquired of the friend of that youth about the youth and about the fragrant blossom he carried He replied. There is a great sage by name श्वेतकेतु One day he had gone to गङ्गा for collecting lotuses for divine worship There he was seen by Lakṣmī, who was affected by cupid at his sight, and by a mental consummation of union with him got a son She handed over the son to श्वेतकेतु, who duly brought him up and named him पुण्डरीक This is the same as that young ascetic The blossom he is wearing on his ears is of पारिजात from the नन्दनवन, presented to him by a नन्दनवनदेवता and worn with

reluctance by him The young ascetic offered to me that blossom and placed it on my ear We both were thrilled by the consequent mutual touch He inadvertently dropped down his rosary, which I caught in the air and put round my neck Just then there came a maid-servant, and she reminded me that it was almost time for our return, and so I should complete my bath I, with great difficulty, moved away from that place and then the friend of the मुनिकुमार began to chide him for his mental agitation as follows "O Pundarika, how is it that you have been so swept away by passion? It hardly becomes your penance and self-control You have already lost the rosary At least do not lose your heart " Pundarika tried to be stiff towards me and demanded back his rosary, only to receive a pearl necklace, which he took without noticing it I then returned and remained utterly lost in love Just then came my ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहिनी named तरलिका, who had tarried for a while and who brought now with her a love letter from Pundarika I was enthralled to read it and talked about पुण्डरीक with तरलिका

At about sunset there came the छत्रग्राहिणी reporting that one of the ऋषिकुमारs has come to the door, asking for the अक्षमाला When he was brought in, he reported the lovelorn and desperate condition of पुण्डरीक Just then my mother came to see me, and Kapinjala, that ऋषिकुमार hastily returned After my mother returned, I in early night discussed the matter with तरलिका, and I left, love lorn myself too, to meet my lord There was ominous throbbing of my right eye When I reached near the place, I heard the loud laments of Kapinjala over the death of पुण्डरीक Then I lamented long and bitterly At this stage of the narrative महाश्वेता broke down and fainted Candrapida revived her Then even though चन्द्रापीड requested her to discontinue the narrative she continued When I was thinking of consuming myself to fire a divine being, coming from the orb of the moon, took away the corpse of पुण्डरीक, telling me not to commit suicide, as I would be reunited with पुण्डरीक again Kapinjala flew in the sky after that divine being Then I decided to stay there in penance, awaiting for the day of reunion, rejecting all efforts of my father to wean me away from this resolve to lead an ascetic life Cand-

rapida then very eloquenty consoled Maha'sveta and told her that she had done everything possible for a beloved to do for her lover, and she should never think of अनुमरण अनुमरण is not a resort of the heroic but of cowards, strange though this may seem! It is an admission of inability to stand up to the trials and tribulations of life अनुमरण does good neither to the dead nor to the dying There is no guarantee that अनुमरण can reunite the अनुमृत with the मृत On the other hand it brings the sin of suicide So we should follow the path of a courageous facing of hardships Great ladies like कुन्ती, उत्तरा, दुशला and others have also not taken to अनुमरण And particularly महाश्वेता, having the assurance of reunion given by the divine being, hardly has any justification for अनुमरण. She should continue to hope for the great day Just then the sun set. Both महाश्वेता and चन्द्रापीड prepared to retire for night. Talking then, चन्द्रापीड inquired where तरलिका was then. She told Prince, there is the Gandharva king चित्ररथ, who has married मदिरा born of the family of Apsarases born of nectar. They have one daughter, named कादम्बरी She has been my childhood compa: nion. On hearing my misfortune कादम्बरी decided not to marry till I was again happy The Gandharva king had therefore sent a Kañcukin क्षीरोद to me to try my hand at persuading Kadambari to change her decision, and I have sent तरलिका with a message of appeal to कादम्बरी.

Next morning तरलिका returned with a Gandharva lad केयूरक, the lute-carrier of Kadambari, who conveyed Kandambari's return-message confirming her decision to remain unmarried till महाश्वेता was reunited with her lover Mahasveta sent back Keyuraka with the words I shall personally speak to Kādambari about this

After Keyuraka returned, महाश्वेता suggested that Candrāpida can accompany her to चित्ररथ's realm, if he would not mind He agreed and duly came to the palace of कादम्बरी He was introduced by महाश्वेता to कादम्बरी in suitable terms and was received with great regard Needless to say that चन्द्रापीड and कादम्बरी fell in love at first sight

Then Mahāśvetā went to see the parents of Kādambarī, who had called her, and चन्द्रापीड was lodged in a mansion on a क्रीडापर्वत. There चन्द्रापीड was sent a priceless necklace as a present by कादम्बरी. After staying there for a couple of days चन्द्रापीड returned, with his love for कादम्बरी and vice versa, being firmly established. He returned to the hermitage of महाश्वेता, where he met his followers who had come up there in his quest Next day he saw केयूरक, arriving with materials of betel and the forgotten necklace sent by Kādambarī Keyūraka informed him about the lovelorn condition of Kādambarī Candrapida made another trip to Hemakūta, this time accompanied by Patralekhā And then he soon returned to his camp, keeping behind पत्रलेखा at Kādambarī's request. At the camp he found a messenger, who had been sent by king Tarpida तारापीड had called back Candrapida, who was away quite some time, immediately, and so too वैशम्पायन was called back by शुकनास Both of them started back with their army चन्द्रापीड *kept behind मेघनाद, son of his commander to escort home* पत्रलेखा when she returned from Hemakūta He also sent a message of touching farewell to Kadambarī and Mahāśveta, hoping to meet them sometime in future And asking वैशम्पायन to come with the army at a slower pace, चन्द्रापीड himself started home at great speed with a few picked horsemen In the evening he reached a चण्डिकायतन, where a जरद्-द्रविड धार्मिक was in charge He halted there that night, next morning marched ahead and soon reached Ujjayinī

He was very gladly greeted by his parents He paid respects to शुकनास and मनोरमा and went to his mansion. He remained awaiting the arrival of पत्रलेखा, who came after some days He asked her in confidence of things connected with कादम्बरी and महाश्वेता पत्रलेखा told in detail of कादम्बरी's love-sickness She told how she told Kādambarī that she would return to bring back her lord Kādambarī wondered how she could frame a suitable message to Candrapida **(And here Bāṇa's narrative comes to an abrupt end)**

(Bhūṣaṇabāṇa continues) Kādambarī was very much overpowered by lovelornness She conceded the request of पत्रलेखा of returning to bring back चन्द्रापीड पत्रलेखा returned and told about

कादम्बरी's love sick condition to चन्द्रापीड चन्द्रापीड was very anxious and did not know what to do just then After some days Keyuraka arrived and conveyed Kadambari's still more desperately lovesick condition Candrapida was in a fix as to how he could return to हेमकूट without informing his parents, and how he should tell about his love, to them He badly wanted वैशम्पायन to be near him to advise Just then he heard that the army he left behind with वैशम्पायन in charge, was near and so decided to send केयूरक and पत्रलेखा in advance to Kadambari, promising that he would soon follow King तारापीड started thinking about the marriage of Candrapida चन्द्रापीड felt that the arrival of वैशम्पायन would make his marriage with कादम्बरी a near possibility when his father was now thinking of it चन्द्रापीड started to meet वैशम्पायन When he reached the army-camp he was shocked to hear of Vaiśampāyana's absence And on inquries he learnt as follows वैशम्पायन, before starting the return journey wanted to bathe in the holy Acchoda lake and worship Lord Śiva When he went there he was so lost in an indescribable mental agiation that he just refused to move away from that place in spite of the entreaties of his companions He advised them to return and said that he would return when he got into a proper mood For three days the companions waited, hoping that वैशम्पायन would come and ultimately leaving sufficient provender for him started the return journey When चन्द्रापीड heard this he was totally at a loss to understand why वैशम्पायन acted that way He though he should straightway go in quest of वैशम्पायन But he decided to first report matters back to Ujjayini and then leave for the search of वैशम्पायन, and he may use the opportunity to meet Kadambari as well So he returned He called on शुकनास whose place was already being visited then by the king and the queen The king chided Candrapida for negligence Sukanasa interceded powerfully on Candrapida's behalf soundly blaming वैशम्पायन for his own folly तारापीड told शुकनास that he had been too harsh in criticising वैशम्पायन चन्द्रापीड volunteered to go to bring वैशम्पायन home and was duly permitted to do so He proceeded forthwith, dreaming of the recovery of वैशम्पायन meeting महाश्वेता, meeting marriage and lovesports with Kadambari marrying वैशम्पायन with मदलेखा etc ! On the way there came the rainy season which caused a lot of

discomfort by heavy showers On the way he saw मेघनाद returning and asked him about वैशम्पायन But he reported that he had returned before reaching अच्छोद at the insistence of पत्रलेखा and केयूरक, who advised मेघनाद to return, as चन्द्रापीड may not come in *autumn that side so he could go back, because there was no point* in his waiting for चन्द्रापीड's arrival very soon and he better return in good time to Ujjayini They were confident of making their *way ahead*

Candrapida then reached अच्छोद He did not find any trace of वैशम्पायन and decided to inquire of महाश्वेता about him He was surprised to see महाश्वेता weeping bitterly On inquiring she replied when I returned from Gandharvaloka here, I saw a young person. He began to woo me ande when he pressed his suit persistently I cursed him to be a parrot And then I learnt that he was your friend Hearing about this unhappy end of वैशम्पायन, चन्द्रापीड fell dead Taralika and Candrapida's retinue began to lament And just then came on the scene कादम्बरी with पत्रलेखा for seeing चन्द्रापीड She was over-whelmed by seeing चन्द्रापीड *dead. She wanted to burn herself with चन्द्रापीड's corpse But just* then some refulgent lustre came out of चन्द्रापीड's body, and a voice in heaven told that चन्द्रापीड's body should be guarded and pro*tected there till he is once more revived as he would be* पुण्डरीक's body is also wellguarded in चन्द्रलोक All were surprised But पत्रलेखा leading इन्द्रायुध with her, jumped in अच्छोद Out of अच्छोद *rose up* कपिञ्जल *who* informed महाश्वेता *thus When I went after* that divine person who had taken away पुण्डरीक's body, I reached चन्द्रलोक in that process There the person told me that he was the Moon He was cursed by Pundarika dying of lovesickness that the moon, who is bringing about his death by excruciating rays shall more than once be born in this mortal world, and falling in love would die before being united with his beloved *The* moon, cursed for no fault of his, retaliated by a counter curse that पुण्डरीक would be sharing his joys and sorrows Then realising how this पुण्डरीक was the lover of महाश्वेता *his descendant, the* moon directed me to go to श्वेतकेतु, who perhaps would find a way *through this mess, while पुण्डरीक's body is well guarded in चन्द्रलोक* When *I left towards my destination I absentmindedly jolted*

against a wrathful वैमानिक who cursed me to a horse On intercession he ordained that I shall become the horse of Candrapida, son of Tarapida, who (Candrapida) would be the moon reborn. My friend पुण्डरीक was to be born as वैशम्पायन I was to regain my form when I would bathe after my master's death I remembered these things and intentionally brought Candrapida in the Kinnara's pursuit to that region Vaisampayana was none else than पुण्डरीक and so through previous attachment tried to woo Mahasveta At least two births of unrequited love shall have to be spent by the moon with Pundarika as his companion.

Mahasveta was overwhelmed by grief on hearing this account Kapinjala consoled her by saying that she should carry on with her penance with a faith in divine dispensations, which are bound to be realised. Kadambari asked What happened to पत्रलेखा? Kapinjala said: I do not know but I shall forthwith go to श्वेतकेतु and seek information of the next birth of चन्द्रापीड, पुण्डरीक and also about the subsequent information about पत्रलेखा. Kadambari and Mahasveta waited with hope Some messengers from तारापीड arrived and went back to report matters as they stood Torn between grief and hope, तारापीड, विलासवती, शुकनास and मनोरमा accompanied by some retinue came where the body of चन्द्रापीड was lying; and remained waiting there. Here Jabali concluded by saying that the parrot before them was वैशम्पायन cursed by महाश्वेता to become a शुक. The शुक now remembered everything and inquired of जाबालि as to what had happened to his friend चन्द्रापीड. The sage counselled it against impatience and asked it to wait till its wings became strong Then it may inquire Harita inquired why पुण्डरीक was overpowered by love and why he was short lived. Jabali answered that he was born of स्त्रीवीर्य only and so he was so Jabali then ended his tale.

While हारीत attended (continues the parrot) on me, who was uneasy and desirous of going away in quest of my lost kith and kin, there came Kapinjala from S'vetaketu's hermitage in search of me He told me how श्वेतकेतु by divine vision had come to know what had befallen पुण्डरीक, how he started counteremedies, how he himself, when freed from the birth of a horse, went to

श्वेतकेतु, how श्वेतकेतु told him that वैशम्पायन was born as a parrot *but advised him not to visit वैशम्पायन just now* how one day श्वेतकेतु advised him to go to जाबालि's hermitage to meet वैशम्पायन viz myself in the present parrot s birth, who had now remembered my earlier birth He conveyed to me a message from श्वेतकेतु that I should stay at जाबालि s feet till the proper time comes for my release from the parrot s birth I was also informed how my mother in my पुण्डरीक birth was interested in saving me Kapiñjala and myself talked for a long time on these matters and then कपिञ्जल returned to श्वेतकेतु's आश्रम

After I grew strong one day I flew away to the north On the way I was caught in a snare by a fowler who had done so on instructions of the daughter of a Mataṅga chief I was taken to her She kept me in a prison I first refused to take any food but later, on an appeal by the Caṇḍala girl relented When I was grown up the Caṇḍalakanya put me in a cage and brought it to your majesty Why she brought me here who she was etc, I do not know (Here ends the parrot s tale)

King Sudraka became eager to know about these matters and inquired of the Caṇḍala girl apropos these She told how S'udraka was Candrapīda the parrot was पुण्डरीक and she herself was लक्ष्मी Now that she had brought the two friends together, her task was done They shall now regain their original divine forms With these words Lakṣmī flew up in the sky

Sūdraka and Vaiśampayana then abandoned their bodies and Candrapīda and Puṇḍarīka were *duly revived Both couples and* all their relatives met in highest bliss and there was joy all around Cadrapīda was duly entrusted with the kingship He entrusted *administration to पुण्डरीक and used to pass his time ever after*wards now in उज्जयिनी, now on हेमकूट now on the banks of अच्छोद and now in चन्द्रलोक And both couples thus attained *highest bliss in mutual company*

Sources of Baṇa's Kadambarī —Baṇa obviously seems to have derived his plot of Kadambarī from the story of king Sumanas (सुमनास in बृहत्कथामञ्जरी) as told in the *Bṛhatkatha* of

Guṇādhya. The बृहत्कथा, a work written in Pais'āci language is not available now, but two Sanskrit abridgements of the work are available viz. सोमदेव's कथासरित्सागर and क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी. (M. Lacote has brought out a third redaction of the बृहत्कथा) The बृहत्कथा has served as a popular source of material and inspiration for many later writers, and Bāṇa (who has expressed his admiration for बृहत्कथा in हर्ष. Intro v 17) has based his कादम्बरी story on the story of king Sumanas occurring in बृहत्कथा and occurring in कथासरित्सागर, लम्बक X, तरङ्ग III vv. 22-179. (N S. Edn), and बृहत्कथामञ्जरी XVI 138-251 (N. S Edn) We give now a summary of this कथासरित्सागर narrative A comparison of the story of the कादम्बरी with this original will show to what extent Bāṇa has based his work on the story of king सुमनस्, and how far he has modified, moulded or improved on the popular tale to serve his purpose, and to infuse life and vigour in the somewhat dry narrative in his original.

A Summary of Kathāsaritsāgara, Lambaka X, Taraṅga III, vv. 22-179.—There was a city named काञ्चनपुरी. There ruled a great king named Sumanas One day, when he was in his assembly-hall, a door keepr informed him that a daughter of a Niṣāda chief, by name Muklalatā, was at the door, with a parrot in a cage and her brother Vīraprabha accompanying her, and that she wanted to see the king She was permitted an interview with the king, and as she entered the assembly hall, all people were impressed by her charm. She presented that parrot named S'ās'tragañja, well-versed in all lores and arts to the king It uttered a verse in honour of the king and also offered to give evidence of its s'āstric proficiency. The king was surprised, and his ministers suggested that the parrot may be some sage undergoing a curse The king requested the parrot to tell its account and it narrated as follows —

(The Parrot's Tale) Near Himālayas on a रोहिणीतरु I was born to a parrot couple I lost my mother just at my birth and my father brought me up. One day a Bhilla army came there on a hunting expedition One old S'abara came to the tree of our residence in the evening, and pulling out many a bird from their nests, and killing them, through them down. I lurked in my

father's feathers. My father was also killed by that S'abara and thrown under the tree. I made my escape by concealing under grass and leaves. I passed that night in great sorrow and next morning, being thirsty, proceeded towards a lotus lake. There I was seen by a sage named मरीचि, who took pity on me, put some drops of water in my beak and placing me in a leaf-bowl took me to his hermitage. There the कुलपति पुलस्त्य laughed as he looked at me. He then told the others how I was a sage turned into a parrot by a curse, and then in the afternoon told them my account.

(Pulastya's Narrative) There was in the city of रत्नाकर a king named ज्योतिष्प्रभ. He had a queen named हर्षवती. They got a son through S'iva's favour. The name of the son was सोमप्रभ. When the prince grew up, he was installed as युवराज, and he was given as his minister प्रियंकर son of his minister प्रभाकर. Just then मातलि *came from heaven and presented* सोमप्रभ *with a horse* आशुश्रवा (son of उच्चैःश्रवस्), because सोमप्रभ was Indra's friend, a विद्याधर *born as a human being*, and so this victory bringing horse was presented by Indra to him.

Then prince सोमप्रभ started *on an expendition of* दिग्विजय. Conquering various kings he reached the Himalayan regions, where *he indulged in* मृगया *for a while. Having seen a* किन्नर *he tried to* pursue it, but the किन्नर gave him a slip, only leading him far away from his camp, in the pursuit. It was evening when he started back and seeing a lake he decided to halt on its bank for the night. He first fed and refreshed his horse and then rested for a while, when he heard some song near about. Going in quest of the source of it, he happened to see a divine young girl, singing before an image of Lord S'iva. She saw him, welcomed him as a guest and both asked about each other. Then after the Prince told information about himself, the girl (मनोरथप्रभा) began her account as follows.

(Manorathaprabhā's Narrative) There is a city named काञ्चनाभ on the slopes of हिमालय. There lives a lord of Vidyadharas *named* पद्मकूट *there. I am his daughter* loved more than a son, born of a Queen named हेमप्रभा. My name

is मनोरथप्रभा. One day when I was wandering on the bank of this lake with a lady-friend of mine, I saw a young मुनिकुमार with a friend of his We both (viz the मुनिकुमार and myself) were greatly impressed with each other. My friend asked of his friend about the मुनिकुमार's personal information He said There lives in a hermitage nearby a sage named दीधिति; he, a brahmacarin once came for bath to this lake and was seen by Lakṣmi Lakṣmī, without physical union, got a son from the sage on account of mutual love, and she handed over the son to the sage, who brought him up and named him as रश्मिमान् The मुनिकुमार under reference was this रश्मिमान् son of दीधिति and लक्ष्मी My friend told then about my ancestry, and we both fell in love Just then another lady friend of mine came there with a message from my father calling me back, as it was time for food Just as I finished my food, I heard from my lady-friend that the friend of रश्मिमान् had come to see me on behalf of his friend That friend told how रश्मिमान् was overcome by cupid and could not live without मनोरथप्रभा By the time I went to meet him I found that रश्मिमान् had already died at moonrise I wanted to consume myself to fire with the corpse of my lover. But some lustrous divine being came there from heaven and went away to heaven taking रश्मिमान्'s body with him A divine voice asked me not burn myself, when I tried to do so alone The voice assured me that I would again meet my lord And so here I am, propitiating S'iva, and longing for reunion with my lord I do not know where the friend of रश्मिमान् went

Hearing this narrative of मनोरथप्रभा, सोमप्रभ asked her where her lady-friend was. To that querry she replied. There is a विद्याधर king named सिंहविक्रम. He has a daughter मकरन्दिका. That girl is a very close friend of mine and she is very grieved on account my misfortune She had sent a friend of hers today to inquire about me and I have sent my friend to her along with her friend So I am alone just now. Just then came the lady friend of मनोरथप्रभा.

They all spent the night there Next morning came a विद्याधर, named देवजय. He had been sent by king सिंहविक्रम requesting

मनोरथप्रभा to come at his place and try to make मकरन्दिका think of *marriage, which she is refusing on account of the* postponed marriage of मनोरथप्रभा When मनोरथप्रभा prepared to start, सोमप्रभ expressed his desire to visit the विद्याधरलोक and मनोरथप्रभा gladly took him there, leaving आशुश्रवा well provided for, behind When *they reached their destination सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका mutually fell* in love मनोरथप्रभा settled their marriage in consultaion with the elders telling मकरन्दिका that she need not delay her marriage, for her sake because her marriage is already fixed, she is only awaiting its solemnistation.

सोमप्रभ suggested that he should first go back to the hermitage of मनोरथप्रभा, where he would like to meet his army, which would be searching for him and worried about him He would then return to सिद्धविक्रम s *place for the marriage* When this was agreed to and he returned to the hermitage, he met his friend प्रियकर with the army and told प्रियकर all that had happened Just then came a messenger from सोमप्रभ's father calling him back. *So the son, in obedience to his father's command, started home*wards, telling मनोरथप्रभा and the विद्याधर देवजय who had accompanied them upto the hermitage that that he would soon return देवजय conveyed this *information to मकरन्दिका who was very dis* consolate through lovelornness Her parents tried their best to comfort her but finding her disconsolate still, मकरन्दिका s father cursed her to be born in the निषाद community for a while, which happened accordingly The repentent सिद्धविक्रम died in grief along with his wife He first became a sage and then due to some earlier unrequited demerit a parrot, and his wife became an अरण्यसूकरी . *This parrot remembered his learning of previous life* through तपोबल Thinking of these vicissitudes of this parrot's life, said Pulastya I lauched. He further said that this parrot, when he would tell the story in the royal court would be free from that birth And सोमप्रभ would meet मकरन्दिका that dauehter of सिद्धविक्रम in his विद्याधर birth as a निषादी And so also मनोरथप्रभा would obtain रश्मिमान who is born now as a king as her husband सोम प्रभ, *having seen his father, went to the* आश्रम *and is there propitia*ting Lord Siva *to get his beloved* (*who by her father s curse has* become a निषादी) Pulastya stopped telling this narrative and

I remembered the previous life with joy and grief The sage मरीचि brought me up I, on my wings being grown, flew here and there displaying my lore till I was caught by निषाद and was brought to your majesty And now has ended my sin which had made me a parrot. On hearing this narrative king सुमनस too had a mental extacy Just then Lord Siva, who was pleased, told Somaprabha to go to the court of Sumanas, where he would meet his beloved as a निषादकन्या named मुक्तालता with her father as a parrot in cage They both (सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका) would regain their previous status So also S'iva asked मनोरथप्रभा to come to the court of सुमनस who was रश्मिमान There these two lovers too would be reunited in their original form All the four, so also the parrot, regain their form and fortune !

Bana's handling of this source —It would be noticed, if we compare this story with the Kadambari narrative, that but for change of names of persons and places the two stories run very close from the beginning upto the return of चन्द्रापीड to उज्जयिनी after his visits to हेमकूट The two minor changes are that while in कथासरित्सागर version सोमप्रभ volunteers to accompany मनोरथप्रभा on her visit to सिद्धविक्रम s place, in Kadambari महाश्वेता suggests that चन्द्रापीड may accompany her to चित्ररथ's place Secondly in कथासरित्सागर, मनोरथप्रभा arranges the betrothal of सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका at the time of this visit under reference, while in कादम्बरी, no betrothal is done, though चन्द्रापीड and कादम्बरी fall in love mutually In the latter part of the story the two versions fall out to a great extent In the कथासरित्सागर version, मकरन्दिका who had become lovelorn on the departure of सोमप्रभ, was cursed by her own father to be a निषादी when मकरन्दिका could not be made to give up her melancholy mood Then her father himself died and became a parrot He narrated his account in the court of सुमनस (who was रश्मिमान, lover of मनोरथप्रभा, in a new birth) Then the parrot, the निषादी who brought it there and king Sumanas regained their earlier forms Somaprabha and Manorathaprabha are directed to that place by S'iva and the two couples and सिद्धविक्रम meet in all happiness In कादम्बरी Candrapida went back to Ujjayini leaving वैशम्पायन to accompany the army on its return

journey at a leisurely pace But when the army reached back it was found that Vaiśampayana had not returned because (for some unknown reason, he insisted to stay back on the banks of Acchoda lake Candrapīda came there to take him back But he found that Vaiśampayana had vanished On inquiring of महाश्वेता he learnt that he had solicited love of Mahaśveta and she had cursed him to be a parrot. Hearing that,Candrapīda too died Kadambarī, who had reached there just then, was preparing to die herself but an आकाशवाणी intervened and told her to preserve Candrapīda's corpse, for Candrapīda would be revived Patralekha entered the Acchoda with Indrayudha and out came Kapiñjala (who was born as Indrayudha) From Kapinjala महाश्वेता learnt that वैश म्पायन whom she had cursted to be a parrot, was the same as पुण्डरीक.

When Jabāli told this narrative, the parrot remembered its earlier birth as वैशम्पायन When he went in quest of चन्द्रापीड he fell in the hands of a चाण्डालकन्या (who was Lakṣmi his mother in his birth as पुण्डरीक) She brought the parrot to king S'udraka On hearing the parrot's tale शूद्रक remembered that he was चन्द्रापीड, and casting away his body entered Candrapida's body, which became alive again So also the parrot became पुण्डरीक and went to Acchoda and there the happy reunion of पुण्डरीक and महाश्वेता and चन्द्रापीड and कादम्बरी took place

Bana has followed the कथासरित्सागर narrative very faithfully in the main outline for a major portion, as seen above But the names of characters in the two versions are different While in the कथासरित्सागर version the Himalayan regions and Vidyadharas figure, बाण refers to more southern regions at many stages and the गन्धर्वs and अप्सरसs figure in his narrative Further Bana expands and duplicates thus for example he has added the characters of शुकनास and वैशम्पायन, he has two किन्नरs instead of one he describes the childhood of चन्द्रापीड which his source does not Bana's descriptions and elaboration of love theme are all his own "In the tale, however, after the prince's departure, the princess मकरन्दिका annoys by her grief her parents so deeply, that she is cursed to

become a निषाद maiden, while her father it is who, ashamed of his action, dies and becomes the parrot, who repeats the tale of its experiences and what it heard Pulastya recite, to king Sumanas At the court of that prince सोमप्रभ is reunited to the निषाद maiden, who resumes her true shape, and it is the king who is revealed as रश्मिमान, mind-son of the sage दीधिति, and is united to मनोरथप्रभा, while the parrot is released and reaps the fruit of its austerities " (Keith). Bana's story of Kādambarī was summarised in 78 verses and was put in the 24th वेताल story in some Mss of the बृहत्कथामञ्जरी (vide the परिशिष्ट at the end of that work. Nir Edn)

Critical Remarks on Kādambarī —

The tale of Kadambari is strange and unreal for one who has no belief in rebirth or reunion after death To such a person the story would appear to be fantastic and the atmosphere unreal But to the Indian mind which believes in the transmigration of soul through various births, reunion after death, divine intervention and grace, curses and counter-curses, and the inter mixture of the human with the supernatural, there is nothing fantastic or impossible in such a tale To the Indian mind " the story may justly be deemed replete with tenderness of human love, the beneficence of divine consolation, the pathos and the sorrow of death and the abiding hope of reunion after death as a result of unswerving fidelity to love " (Keith)

While Harsacarita is a historical Kavya and as such in it Bāna had to keep his fancy related to fact in such a way that the story should have a fair semblance to the facts of the Harsa era, the Kadambari is an entirely imaginative work and Bana could give free scope to his Poetic Muse therein Bana's Kadambari fully lives up to his own description of a कथा–" स्फुरत्कलालापविलासकोमला करोति राग हृदि कौतुकाधिकम् । रसेन शय्या स्वयमभ्युपागता कथा जनस्याभिनवा वधूरिव ॥—कादम्बरी Intro v 8

"The principal sentiment of the work is शृङ्गार (love) Bāna's treatment of love is refined and graceful For a conspicuous instance of the sentiment the reader may be referred to the poet's description of कादम्बरी when she mounted her terrace in order to

have a look at चन्द्रापीड and generally the whole state of her mind *from that moment onwards.* Ever since Kādambarī gazed at the prince, Bāna has delineated beautifully the currents of youthful passion and virgin modesty, which sway a girl's mind when she first falls in love. Bāna has developed the sentiment of शृङ्गार *through all the ten stages including that of death, which rarely* has been achieved by any poet before or after him Among the other minor sentiments displayed in the book may be mentioned those of wonder and pathos, instances of which are scattered all over the work, chief *among which may be noted the successive* lives of the moon and पुण्डरीक and the state of कादम्बरी and महाश्वेता on the death of their lovers". (Kale amended and amplified).

There is no lack of movement Even though Bāna's descriptions and eloquent effusions halt the narrative now and then, *the action still manages to keep a quick tempo as a whole* Bāṇa's use of contrast is seen in his descriptions of the innocent life of the parrots on the शाल्मली tree or the peaceful life of Jabali's hermitage on the one hand and the pomp and splendour of the courts of S'ūdraka and Tarapida on the other. His sense of drama is revealed by the brilliant portraits of king S'ūdraka and the Candālakanyā His close observation and love of nature are *seen in the descriptions of the Himālayas, the lake* अच्छोद, महाश्वेता s abode and the like As in the Harṣacarita so in the Kadambarī, Bāṇa blends the descriptions of natural scenes with those of urban life The political insight shown in *Harṣacarita* is seen *again in* Kādambarı in S'ūkanāsa's advice to Candrāpida, or Kapiñjala's advice to Puṇdarīka both of which are amongst the masterpieces of Baṇa's literary art too In Kādambarī, however, we find "a more mature view and a deeper insight into the springs of human action" Kadambarī obviously seems to be later than Harṣacarita.

There are some defects of Bāna as a writer, which we have to admit The style at places is verbose, the construction of the plot of कादम्बरी is very complex with past and present lives interwoven in the narrative, there is lack of proportion at places *descriptions are often overdone e g description of Mahaśveta or* of Can ḍāla kanyā "Baṇa does not let his reader see the wood

for the trees, in his devotion to the beauties of the evening and morning, on the rising of the moon, or limbs of his heroines, he often loses sight of the plot itself " (Keith).

"The last but not the least of all comes our author's peculiar excellence in adapting even a story of super-human beings to the daily concerns of the universal human nature" (Kale) Apropos the use of supernatural element in Kādambarī by Bāṇa, Dr. Peterson has the following remarks to make. "Bāṇa's greatest merit we have reserved to the last. Separated as we are by a thousand years and one-half the world from this Indian writer, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the superhuman machinery of his tale, the hero who is the moon, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, Kādambarī's home beyond the mountains that gird the world, strike us at first as flaws which no natural force on the author's part can remedy. As we proceed all, that falls away, and we find ourselves face to face with a story of human sorrow and divine consolation, of death and of passionate longing for a union after death, that goes straight from the heart of one who himself felt the pang, and nursed the hope, to us who are of like frame with him The machinery is as unreal as that of Virgil's poem. the pathos is Virgilian. *Mentem mortalia tangunt*. Kādambarī has its place in the world's literature as one more aspiration out of the very heart of genius after that story, which from the beginning of time, mortal ears have yearned to hear, but which mortal lips have never spoken."

On Bhūṣaṇabhatta's literary ability, which we must assess in passing, there is a difference of opinion Keith is too hard on him, and in brief his observations are: He is inferior to his father His hurried treatment of the remainder of the plot was perhaps due to inherent difficulties, but he is deficient in his father's facile imagination His knowledge of mythology and observation of the flora and fauna of Nature is much less than his father's. He at times becomes too lengthy e g. in the description of Kādambarī's lovelorn condition He has no master-pieces like S'ukanasa's advice to his credit. Mm Kane has almost similar complaints about Bhūṣaṇa. He too says that we do not find the bold and

striking fancies of Bāṇa in the *Uttarabhāga*, nor the masterpieces like Sukanāsa's advice, that descriptions by भूषण tend to become often tedious and lengthy as in the descriptions of Kādambarī's love torments, that references to mythology and to other branches of learning are few and far between in Uttarabhāga, that Bhūṣaṇa has attempted to wind up the threads of narrative hurriedly, and that the picturesque nature-descriptions and the genius for making characters live as if, are wanting in Bhūṣaṇa's work. We feel Bhūṣaṇa is being judged too harshly Why compare his amateur work against the mature production of Bāṇa ? Even Bāṇa in his apprentice days had many faults Bhūṣaṇa, though no compeer to Bāṇa, was not much inferior to him And this point is conceded practically by Mm Kane too for he opines that Bhūṣaṇa deserves *great credit for the task of completing कादम्बरी, dutifully undertaken* and creditably performed He also says that Bhūṣaṇa's command over Sanskrit and his use of ornate style and अलङ्कार's is almost similar to his father's

Kādambarī unfortunately was left incomplete by Bāṇabhaṭṭa due to the cruel hand of death snatching him away, and his son Bhūṣaṇa *completed it, not to flaunt his poetic abilities, but as* part of filial duty Many scholars, as said above, have asserted that Bhūṣaṇa is a much inferior literary artist De and Dasgupta too hold the same opinion They grudgingly admit that Bhūṣaṇa *has considerable command over ornate style and diction, and* possesses some literary excellences of his father, but say that he *imitates and at time exaggerates some of his father's mannerisms,* and adds a few of his own

The story of कादम्बरी deals with the lives and loves of two heroes, each of whom is re-born twice. The story is narrated in *a very complex way with stories boxed in stories Bana's own* narrative ends before the plot is properly developed, and it is Bāṇa's son who ingeniously completes it How far Bāṇa's son has developed it as per his father's original ideas is not exactly known. *Some scholars and critics think that Bāṇa may not have made the* narrative as confusingly complex in latter part as his son has done it. They wonder whether Bāṇa intended to make S'udraka and

the parrot to be चन्द्रापीड and वैशम्पायन In fine, they feel that Bana might have closely followed the Brhatkatha version to the end But we feel that this is very dubious criticism Bhūsana must have probably known his father's plan of developing the story, and we cannot agree with the view of De and Dasgupta that the charges of complexity of plot and deficiency of construction should not be fairly levelled at Bana, but at his son, in whose portion these occur For we feel that Bhusana knew the broad outlines of the plot as planned by his father and tried his best to complete his father's unfinished work as per that plan He may have been guilty of some faults of plot-complexity or plot construction, but we cannot put the entire responsibilty and blame for these on him We feel so because Bana's son refers to the debt he owes to his father, in writing the उत्तरभाग, in the following words ' बीजानि गर्भितफलानि विकासभाञ्जि वप्त्रेव यान्युचितकर्मबलात्कृतानि । उत्कृष्टभूमिविततानि च यान्ति पोषं तान्येव तस्य तनयेन तु संहृतानि ॥" This should clearly indicate that Bhūsana had the scheme of the Uttarabhaga, inherited from his father, during the latter s life time, and that he completed Kadambari on these lines. This would give the lie to the view of many scholars that Bhūsana has not been a worthy completor of Bana's plan, and that probably Bana would have done the job much better and much differently Perhaps Bana would have done it much better, but we do not think he would have done it much differently It is fair commonsense that the plan of the father for whole work must have been fairly well known to his son, particularly when the son was himself a literary person We may say that he wound up the threads somewhat hurriedly and this made the details at times somewhat confusing. Some say the denouement as presented by Bhūsana is flat, but this is only partly true On the whole he has welded the plot well and kept the element of suspense and surprise right upto the end, where we, with as much surprise as शूद्रक and शुक realise, that they are the heroes of that narrative.

"That the method of emboxing tales can be carried to a confusing extent is seen in the arrangement of सोमदेव's कथासरित्सागर, where, often with an insignificant framework, we have A's

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" That the method of emboxing tales can be carried to a confusing extent is seen in the arrangement of सोमदेव's कथासरित्सागर, where, often with an insignificant framework, we have A's

account of B's report of C s recounting of D s relating of what E said, and so forth, until we have the disentangling of the entire intricate progression, or reversion to the main story, which the *reader in the meantime probably forgets* The form is not ill suited to a succession of disconnected tales, as in the पञ्चतन्त्र, where they are narrated generally by the characters of the frame-story or of the inset stories There is further improvement in the दशकुमारचरित, *where, their several experiences are narrated,* with a semblance of realism, by the princes themselves in the first person and in the वेतालपञ्चविंशति, where all the separate tales are connected to serve one main purpose In the Kadambari, the old machinery *is adapted, with a clever plan, to the conditions of the complex* narrative The device of first hand narration is made an essence of the form for the inset stories explain matters which the main narrator could not himself know and which each subsequent *narrator is allowed to describe as coming within the scope of* personal experience The main narrative here is not recounted by the hero, but in effect by the sage जाबालि, who supposed by his insight to know vividly what he relates and who can describe freely and objectively but each of the minor narratives like that of महाश्वेता, gives effective expression to the intimate knowledge and feeling, and is made essential to the development of the plot '. (De & Dasgupta)

Bana's *characterisation is* also very effective Besides the main characters of चन्द्रापीड, कादम्बरी, पुण्डरीक and महाश्वेता, we find a number of minor characters like तारापीड, शुकनास, वैशम्पायन, कपिञ्जल, विलासवती, पत्रलेखा etc *all infused with life and colour* We now give character sketches of the leading characters in Kadambari

Kadambari We shall aptly enough begin with the character-sketch of Kadambari the graceful heroine of the story which Bana *has named after her* It is the peculiar method of Bana's narration, which has delayed the entry of this Gandharva princess till a pretty late stage of the narrative, and Mahasveta holds the stage earlier with her noble majesty but *once Kadambari comes* on the stage, she keeps the attention of the readers by her shy charm Kadambari has been shown as a beautiful, coy girl, who

is born and grows up in almost idyllic happiness The first encounter with harsh reatilies of life comes when her dear friend Mahāśveta has a poignant task of waiting for the revival of her dead lover; and a sincere friend that Kadambari is, she refuses to marry till महाश्वेता regains her happiness Kadambari had great love and regard for her parents and her noble family When she meets Candrapida who happered to come to visit her place with Mahāśveta, she is deeply drawn towards him as he is towards her; and they fall in love at first sight But then this modest shy girl, like Bhavabhuti's Malati, is torn between love and family considerations But when she finds herself in an identical situation with Mahāśveta on Candrapida s death she wants to die, only to be halted by divine hand and asked to wait for the day of re-union with her revived lord And then inspite of all persuasions of her parents to go back home, she prefers tos tay in penance at Acchoda and faces the test of life with stern resoluteness The delicate girl suddenly becomes a resolute beloved defying 'death' to recover her Lord The personality of bouyant,sweettempered and sweetly eloquent bashful Kadambri is an excellent foil to the noble, ascetic and majestic Mahaśveta, no less sweet in form word and deed The following appreciative remarks of Dr Peterson about Kadambari aptly reveal her real status in the story "On his representation of Kadambari in particular Bana has spent all his wealth of observation, fullness of imagery keenness of sympathy. From the moment when for the first time her eye falls and rests on

Acchoda lake Receiving Candrāpīda with great courtesy and hospitality and forming a friendship with that noble prince, she unfolds her tale of woe and hope to his sympathetic ears We learn therefrom how this young frail-looking girl has a steellike firmness in her devotion to her lord and to love though fate plays many a cruel prank against her Once she falls in love, she displays a single-hearted devotion and grit An affectionate friend both to कादम्बरी and चन्द्रापीड, she tries her best to make them come together in a happy wedlock Fair in form, she is equally *fair in disposition and character and reminds one of Parvatī practising penance for attaining Lord Śiva as her Lord,* She tries her *best to wean away Kadambarī from the latter's decision not to* marry till महाश्वेता was happy, and introduces Candrāpīda to *her with the obvious expectation that she would be drawn towards* him and he towards her She is mortified to see that वैशम्पायन *whom she cursed to be a parrot was पुण्डरीक himself Her sincere* love, like that of Kādambarī, wins in the end.

Candrapīda An incarnation of Moon, Prince चन्द्रापीड was a highly gifted prince He was beautiful in person, sharp in intellect and heroic by nature He was brought up with great care by his father and was educated in a very thorough going way In due course he became the युवराज and also a universal conqueror With all these shining qualities, he shone still more by his great devotion to parents, great respect to elders like शुकनास and मनोरमा and exemplary modesty and humility He was also a very affectionate friend and वैशम्पायन and महाश्वेता had the great privilege specially to enjoy that friendship in full bounty He was a very considerate master whether to the debonair maid in-waiting Patralekha or the famous steed Indrayudha He was a sincere lover and Kadambarī was his heart's all in all When he returned from हेमकूट [after meeting Kādambarī, his mind was torn between उज्जयिनी and हेमकूट When he came in search of वैशम्पायन, back to the Acchoda bank, and found वैशम्पायन turned into a parrot, he died of heartbreak *True to his जन्मान्तरसङ्गतानि or जननान्तरसौहृद, he even* as Sūdraka, kept old ties, for Sudraka with all his kingly qualities and *accomplishments* was averse to love-matters We find

चन्द्रापीड a good conversationalist and an eloquent pleader of a cause Altogether a worthy life partner for Kādambarī.

पुण्डरीक-वैशम्पायन-शुक– Puṇḍarīka, the lover of Mahāśvetā was the son of S'vetaketu and Lakṣmī He was an embodiment of beauty and intelligence Born of स्त्रीवीर्य alone he had in his very make-up a weakness of nature that would be overwhelmed by passion He, once afflicted by love for Mahāśvetā could not control his mind by his own will power, nor by the admonitions or persuasions of Kapiñjala He cursed the Moon in desperation and brought upon himself two births viz वैशम्पायन and शुक before he could be reunited with Mahāśvetā In his birth as वैशम्पायन he was a very deeply devoted son to शुकनास and मनोरमा and a devoted friend to चन्द्रापीड. He was very intelligent and erudite. But on the banks of Acchoda he came under the influence of प्राक्तनसंस्कार, which over-whelmed him, and he was inexorably led to make advances to Mahāśvetā and court disaster in the bargain, by getting a curse of becoming a parrot In that parrot's birth too he passed through different vicissitudes keeping the earlier संस्कार of learning and finally in S'ūdraka's court got redemption from that birth and all then went to Acchoda to come together in a joyons 'coming together' of lovers and friends.

Then we get king Tārāpīḍa, a great king affectionate husband and loving father He had the worthy and wise minister शुकनास who was a friend, philosopher and guide to him, sharing his weal and woe. Tārāpīḍa was possessed of great composure of mind, which we see in his consolation of Vilāsavatī. But when वैशम्पायन did not return with the army, Tārāpīḍa severely, and much wrongly admonished Candrāpīḍa for that event But when he learnt of his son's death and his would be revival, he went to the banks of Acchoda with his queen and remained there patienty waiting for that day. He treated Kādambarī with a great paternal affection A typical Indian great king he retired in the end in the typical Indian style, leaving the charge of kingdom in the hands of Candrāpīḍa And through all the ups and downs of life he had by his side the devout, beautiful and noble Queen Vilāsavatī, to whom all the world seemed to centred in her husband and son, and in her happy

home. Other characters of note are the wise शुकनास devoted Manoramā, the intelligent पत्रलेखा, the very sincere Kapiñjala the royal sage Sudraka the winsome Caṇḍālakanya the holy sage जाबालि and his kind son, young हारीत, so also मदलेखा, केयूरक, इन्द्रायुध and many others.

Commentaries on the Kadambari — The only commentary generally available is that of भानुचन्द्र (a Jain Pandit) on the पूर्वभाग, and of सिद्धचन्द्र (भानुचन्द्र's disciple) on the उत्तरभाग. The commentary of these two has been published by Nirnayasagara press. Both the writers were proteges of Emperor Akbar. The said composite commentary repeats almost every word of the text and is very useful in understanding the text of Kadambari. But it does not meet all the needs of a modern university student. The commentary rarely discusses variant readings, seldom cites parallel passages hardly gives accurate references to works like रामायण महाभारत and पुराण s and often gives farfetched explanations some of which are positively wrong. The important aid of this commentary is in the dissolution of compounds and quotations from Kosas.

Dr Peterson's notes bear evidence of three other commentaries on the पूर्वभाग (1) 'चषक' by Sivarama Tripathi (2) A commentary by बालकृष्ण and (3) A commentary by सुखाकर. Another commentary on the पूर्वभाग in the विषमपदविवृत्ति of वैद्यनाथ. Two more commentators on the Kadambari are महादेव and सूरचन्द्र (both mentioned by Aufrecht). Mm Kane could not get any of these commentaries except the commentary of भानुचन्द्र and सिद्धचन्द्र.

Mm. Kane was supplied by Mm Ganapatisastrin with transcripts in देवनागरी script of two commentaries on the Kadambari, *written in old Malyali characters on palm-leaves. The first* of it called आमोद is in verse. The author is a Brahmaṇa named अष्टमूर्ति, *whose father was Narayana. He chose verse for memo*rableness. अष्टमूर्ति was an inhabitant of Malabar (Kerala) and *belonged to Bhṛgugotra. It is quite a learned commentary and* the author seems to be well read. But the commentary is not *exhaustive. At places it is very meagre.* The commentary is fuller

at the beginning But the उत्तरभाग of कादम्बरी, which occupies one of third the whole कादम्बरी gets only $\frac{1}{8}$ extent of the commentary. The commentaor often notices readings and quotes the views of various other commentaries by words like 'केनचित', 'अपर' etc One commentator seems to be referred by name viz. मत्स्यकेतु. The commentator, mentioning काव्यप्रकाश and क्षेमेन्द्र amongst several writers is later than about 1200 A D, the specific date is not known

The second commentary (कादम्बरी पदार्थ दर्पण) is by an anonymous writer This also comments on both पूर्वभाग and उत्तरभाग The commentary is generally meagre, and seldom notices variant readings The writer seems to be a South Indian, probably from Kerala

Mm Kane has argued, with reasons, that दर्पण seems to be earlier than आमोद and आमोद seems to refer to दर्पण at places without naming it and at places he seems to improve on आमोद's explanations

On the उत्तरभाग Mm Kane refers to a commentary by अर्जुनपण्डित son of चक्रदास It is a very learned and critical commentary The commentator often discusses various readings At times he refers to the views of other commentators without naming any It is not known whether he wrote any commentary on the पूर्वभाग

Krsnamacariar mentions three additional names of commentators of Kadambari viz हरिदास, शिवराम and घनश्याम.

Works connected with or based on Kadambari Story.— The story of Kadambari is originally traceable to the बृहत्कथा It is found in सोमदेव s कथासरित्सागर and क्षेमेन्द्र s बृहत्कथामञ्जरी (Shri Krishnamacariar curiously enough refers to वामनभट्टबाण's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी !) and Dandin's अवन्तीसुन्दरीकथा (wherein the story agrees only in the पूर्वभाग portion of कादम्बरी, which is composed by Bana himself) Dhundiraja Vyasayajvan wrote the अभिनवकादम्बरी, while there is an anonymous कलितकादम्बरी. Epitomes of Kadambari are available in good number These are (1) अभिनन्द's कादम्बरीकथासार a poem of eight Cantos (2) विक्रमदेव's

(alias त्रिविक्रम) कादम्बरीकथासार, a poem of thirteen Cantos (3) कादम्बरीकथासार by त्र्यम्बक (4) कादम्बरीचम्पू by श्रीकृष्णाभिनवशास्त्रिन् (5) कादम्बरीकल्याणम् by नरसिंह (6) पद्यकादम्बरी by क्षेमेन्द्र (7) कादम्बरीकथासार by मणिराम (8) संक्षिप्तकादम्बरी by काशीनाथ (9) कादम्बरीसंग्रह by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya (10) चन्द्रापीडचरित by V. Anantācārya (11) कादम्बरीसार by Apte (12) कादम्बरीकथा by Navare (Epitomes of Harṣacarita are available by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya, S'rīnivāsācārya and Mm V. V. Mirashi).

Some Miscellaneous Points.—(1) "Three verses of Kādambarī in praise of Viṣṇu, S'iva and Brahman are quoted in a grant of महाराणक कुमारपालदेव (संवत् 1297, I. A. XVII 230). But the introductory verses are not found in manuscript D. V. XXI 6315." (Kṛṣṇamācārya).

(2) According to some scholars the introductory verses to Kādambarī are not from Bāṇa's pen, but from his son or some one else. Mm. Kane rightly rejects this view for the following reasons:—*(1) If Bāṇa's son would have written these verses he would have mentioned the fact of his authorship thereof as he has done in case of the* उत्तरभाग. (2) He hardly would have given such a colourless description of his father as we find in the verse द्विजेन तेन &c. (3) Bāṇa, an orthodox author, was normally expected to have a Maṅgala at the beginning of his Kādambarī as he has done at the beginning of his Harṣacarita. (4) क्षेमेन्द्र in his works has quoted four verses of the Introduction to Kādambarī, ascribing two of these specifically to Bāṇa cp. "स तु सर्वा भट्टबाणस्य 'जयत्युपेन्द्रः स चकार दूरतः' &c. (in औचित्यविचारचर्चा) and 'हरेः बलगतो' &c. (quoted as बाण's in कविकण्ठाभरण)")

CHAPTER VII

BĀNABHATTA AS A LITERARY ARTIST

' वागीश्वर हन्त भजेऽभिनन्दमर्थेश्वर वाक्पतिराजमीडे ।
रसेश्वर स्तौमि च कालिदास बाण तु सर्वेश्वरमानतोऽस्मि ॥"

—सोड्ढलस्य

Bāṇa is one of the most brilliant stars in the galaxy of Sanskrit Poets He is as peerless a master of Sanskrit Prose as Kalidasa is of Sanskrit Verse or Drama And he is the norm and model for later Sanskrit गद्यकवि Sanskrit prose is limited in extent, but Bana has made up by his quality for that deficiency. He can well be termed the Prince of Sanskrit Prose writers It has been said by rhetoricians that Prose is the touchstone of poets (cp. गद्य कवीना निकष वदन्ति—quoted by वामन in his काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति on I 3 21), and Bana has no compeer in the field of Sanskrit Prose His two masterpieces, the हर्षचरित and the कादम्बरी are the outstanding specimens of the two classes of literary prose compositions *viz.* आख्यायिका *and* कथा *respectively,* and *are said to be* fine examples of Pancali style (cp शब्दार्थयो समो गुम्फ पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते । शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥—कस्यापि, शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति No 179) In पाञ्चाली style word and sense have to be equaly balanced Ancient and modern critics have bestowed on Bana an unstinted mead of praise (cp App II for appreciation by ancients and this chapter VII for appreciation by modern critics)

Bana's style is characterised by some as पाञ्चाली (शब्दार्थयो समो गुम्फ पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते) But personally we feel that बाण alternately uses the गौडी and वैदर्भी styles (वामन, by the way refers to three style viz वैदर्भी, गौडी, and पाञ्चाली These originally seem to be provincial peculiarities. विश्वनाथ, author of साहित्यदर्पण, added लाटी to the list, while Bhojaraja and others added three more to वामन's list viz आवन्तिका, लाटीया and मागधी. cp " वैदर्भी चाथ पाञ्चाली गौडी चावन्तिका तथा । लाटीया मागधी चेति षोढा रीतिर्निगद्यते ।' Provincial stylistic tendencies are also referred to by Bana in Harṣa Intro v 7) Bana, in his ornate portions,

prominently displays ओजस (described as समासभूयस्त्वम्) a characteristic of गौडी style, and in simpler passages he displays माधुर्य, प्रसाद and लालित्य of the वैदर्भी style धर्मदास in his विदग्धमुखमण्डन mentions two characteristics of Bana's style (1) रुचिरस्वरवर्णपदत्व (having charming words and letters and sound echoing sense) and (2) रसभाववत्त्व (describing appropriate sentiments and emotions) The author of राघवपाण्डवीय has referred to Bana's proficiency in वक्रोक्ति (an exaggerated or indirect manner of describing things). Ācarya Pathak observes that in Bana's writings we get three types of prose styles (1) उत्कलिका which abounds in compounds, and which he has used mainly in descriptive passages (2) चूर्णक which contains a few small compounds here and there and which *Bāna freely uses all over his works and (3)* आविद्ध *which generally* eschews compounds and which Bana uses in highly sentimental and emotional passages and often towards the end of long descriptions

The first thing which strikes us about Bana's literary style is his overfoodness for puns and recondite allusions He is never satisfied unless he uses, practically at every step, double-meaning words and expressions. When he begins to give long chains of श्लिष्टोपमाs, where there is no other resemblance between the उपमान and उपमेय except a श्लिष्ट expression, one almost gets exasperated with him So also when Bana gives a wealth of mythological historical, geographical philosophic, S'astric or literary allusions, one is bewildered by their brilliance, plenty and variety He uses *all the paths of* वक्रोक्ति *of sound and sense in the flow of his* descriptions, and the modern critic may be almost offended at this intellectual and literary firework but the ancient critic had a great partiality for such fare We find for example Subandhu boasting of his प्रत्यक्षरश्लेष and कविराज acknowledging only him and Bāna as his equals in that province

Another characteristic feature of his style is the use of long compounds, which at times extend over more than one line, and which along with Bana's propensity for puns make his works so ornate as to scare his general readers and particularly to many European scholars these traits become a puzzle and despair But

while admitting Bāṇa's ornateness we must not forget[1] that Bāṇa wrote in an age when the Rhetoric norm for prose was 'ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम्' (Kavyadarśa I 80)' Baṇa naturally tried to show his ability to wield an ओजस्वती style, but this fact should not blind us to the fact, which Weber and Co do not care to note, that there are numerous literary masterpieces of simple graceful and elegant prose in Bāṇa's works Bana writes in a mellifluous Vaidarbhi when particular sentiments or emotions require it He seems to have anticipated आनन्दवर्धन's dictum गद्यबन्धेऽपि दीर्घसमासरचना न विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारकरुणयोराख्यायिकायामपि शोभते। (आनन्दवर्धन obviously is not exhaustive in listing items calling for simplicity) Actually Baṇa seems to have a double stylistic personality which he uses as per the occasion At times we find Bāṇa wielding a smooth, simple, facile, colloquial style, at times he writes vigorous, majestic, high flown and ornate prose But even in such ornate passages, Baṇa's poetic art, richness of fancy, and mastery over language are obvious And even his ornate descriptions are interspresed with small world and phrases having their own charm Generally his diction is smooth and forceful and his imagery and fancy varied and rich "As we follow from one poetic fancy to another, we are struck at the flights of his imagination in regions we never dreamt of and we see before us a veritable poet who possesses in the most astounding degree the power of giving to airy nothings a local habitation and a name" (Prin Ganjendragadkar) Only we often have to complain that Baṇa uses his known gifts of imagination and word painting like a prodigal spendthrift, using them at places without much propriety or proportion, only to display their riotous plenty

Baṇa uses a very large vocabulary Though in general he uses words of common occurrence, still he also uses rare, out of the way or obsolete words now and then (and specially so in the Harṣacarita) and it seems that Baṇa like Carlyle has been inspired with an ambition of having a separate dictionary composed for him

Another feature of Baṇa's style in his unwearying fondness for using figures or speech, both of sound and sense He often

strives for a jingling assonance of sound of alliteration He seems at places to be specially striving for such sound effects His prose specially abounds in various arthalamkāras —Upamā, Rūpaka Utprekṣā, Parisamkhyā and Virodhabhasa being of common occurrence. " Indeed Bāṇa at places seems to justify his fondness for उत्प्रेक्षा by telling us that the poet and the lover—he does not include the lunatic as Shakespeare does—are of imagination all compact (vide Kādambarī p 199 ll 12-19) and have therefore the privilege of bodying forth the forms of unknown things It is only in these उत्प्रेक्षा's that his imaginative power is seen at its best His eye, in a fine frenzy rolling, moves from heaven to earth and it appears as if there is nothing under the sun that he will not imagine" (G) Among other figures of speech used by him are निदर्शना, सहोक्ति, व्यतिरेक, विषम, व्याघात He is very rich in Subhāṣitas, which have adorned Sanskrit literature ever since (Vide Appedix A (Part I) for his use of a wide variety of Alamkāras and Appendix A(Part II) for his Subhāṣitas)

Bāṇabhatta also had a sense of humour, though he is no specialist in the field We find him particularly humorous in the description of the जरद द्रविड धार्मिक That old monk sung songs during day time with nods of his head and with his voice resembling the humming of moths (दिवसमेव मशकक्वणितानुकारि किमपि कम्पितोत्तमाङ्ग गायता) He had to practise a forced celibacy and hence tried to woo old nuns (cp. गृहीततुरगब्रह्मचर्यतयान्यदेशागतोपितासु जरत्प्रव्रजितासु बहुकृत्व सम्प्रयुक्तवशीकरणचूर्णेन). Thus we find that in this entire description Bāṇa has blended humour with realisitic description In हर्षचरित he has remarked how स्कन्दगुप्त had ' a nose as long as his sovereign's pedigree ' (नृपवंशदीर्घं नासावंश दधान).

One undisputed merit of Bāṇabhaṭṭa is his skill in the art of plot-construction We find this evidenced well in his Kādambarī, where a very complex plot is arranged very ingeneously and consistently, with a master-hand The whole story is developed in an atmosphere of deep mystery and suspense, and the curiosity of the reader is kept up right to the end, when one is suprised to realise, all of a sudden, that king Sūdraka and the parrot, introduced to us at the very outset, are the two heroes of the romance in their second and third lives ! The heroine Kādambarī, who

gives the name to the romance comes on the scene only at about the middle of the story, and then we find that the earlier account of Mahaśveta's love is just a back ground for developing the story of Kadambari's love The atmosphere of the story also shifts and contrasts We start in the august royal presence of king Sudraka, to whom a strikingly beautiful Matanga girl presents a gem of a parrot, and then by a flashback we go the quiet world of parrots and birds on the Salmali tree in the thick Vindhya forest, suddenly ruffled for a while by a Śabara army, we go to the peaceful hermitage of the patriarch Jabali and therefrom once more in Tarapica s royal capital & court in Ujjayini, and soon scale the Himalayan heights, to the regions of Gandharvas and Apsarases Thus we are kept moviug right up to the end The double story of कादम्बरी, and महाश्वेता, is interlinked and interlaced in a masterly and ingeniousway and by itself is a sufficient indication of the poet's superior art of plot construction

Bana, unlike Subandhu, shows his expert knowledge of grammar *in many points e g he adheres to the use of perfect only in* reference to matters not within the experience of the particular speaker His long compounds are generally clearly built and often interspersed with shorter words in order to achieve ' ojas ' Bana has considerably influenced later writers like धर्मदास, गोवर्धन and जयदव by his sound effects and brilliant use of figures of speech

Baṇa's descriptive power is really as marvellous as it is varied While he can give pompous and ornate descriptions of the Vindhya forest or Tarapida's royal houschold as described at Candrapida's return from his college, or Caṇdika temple with old Dravida monk therein(in Kadambari) or of Dadhica or Harṣa or Darpaśata (in the Harṣacarita) he can write literay masterpieces like Sukanasa's advice to Candrapida, Candrapida's consolation of Mahaśveta or Brahman's address to Durvasas We now just enumerate at random some beautiful descriptive passages from Baṇa's works, noted for their varied appeal —We find a beautiful description of Malati as a veritable flower-boquet in Harṣacarita (cp " कुवलय अनुगम्यमाना " —ह p 52) In that work we find the very touching and life—like speech of प्र भा क र व र्ध न discussing

with his Queen the marriage of राज्यश्री We have a striking picture of Bhaṇḍin returning with the news of Rajyavardhana's death (मलिनवासा विरतिव हर्ष VII) Elsewhere in Harṣacarita (p 407) we find a nice description of a S'abara replete with उत्प्रेक्षा and रूपक The lamentations of the friends of राज्यश्री are touching while दिवाकरमित्र's advice to राज्यश्री is very eloquent yet simple, and one in Bana's best vein Kadambari presents instances galore of Bana's descriptive art e g the condemation of the forester's life p 32 is simple and colloqial in wording but very eloquent all the same The mental reflections of the young parrot after his father's death are intensely poignant Tarapida's consolation of childless Vilasavati is dignified though having an undercurrent of mental anguish bravely suppresed The psychology of a childless man and his longings are very feelingly depicted in Tarapida's speech The speech is a grand स्वभावोक्ति at length Sukanasa's advice to Candrapida is a masterpiece of sage advice and graceful and dignified style The self reproach by Candrapida for the किन्नरमिथुनानुसरण is a charmingly worded excellent passage, and the description of the feelings evoked in Candrapida's mind by the sight of the Acchoda lake is known for its majestic beauty (cp K d pp 124-25 para 9) Candrapida's address to Mahas'veta eloquently illustrates the inherent graces of the Sanskrit language, courteous and courtly Kapinjala's admonition of Pundarika displays yet another facet of Bana's sheer command over colloquial Sanskrit which scintillates in admonition! The description of forest (on p 223) is very life like And in these different descriptive passages, Bana generally shows a sense of propriety by making the style suit the particular subject in hand Thus while he wields an ornate pen in describing the country of Srikantha or the city of Ujjayini or Emperor Harsa or Sage Jabali, or marriage festivities in Prabhākarvardhana's palace or the dense forests in the Vindhya, he has written in direct and forcible Sanskrit, in simple and elegant diction when occassion needs e. g Kapinjala's advice to Pundarika, the laments of Rajyas'ri's maids or the speach of dying Prabhākarvardhana " In its own way there is a model of force in the picture of the exclamations of the motley host of the royal army and the cries of the despairing

villagers who are being plundered right and left." Bana wields epigrammatic brevity, when he wishes to convey weighty truths or striking thoughts in simple words cp प्रभाकरवर्धन's address to his darling son Harsa (Harsa Uc V) or S'ukanasa's advice to Candrapida, amongst other passages At times, however, Bāna carries his partiality for such epigrams also to a length where he himself almost becomes weary! The descriptions of king Sūdraka, his doorkeeper or Candalakanyā exhibit Bana's normal prose style. Rhythmical effects and alliterations abound in his descriptions and are often happy cp "सनाम्यार्यस्येव पादपांसुस्पर्शेन, यदि परिगणितं रेव वामरै सकलचापचापलदुर्ललितनरपतिचरणरणरणायमाननिगडा निर्गेडा गा न करोमि ततस्तनूनपाति पीतसर्पिषि पतङ्ग इव पातकी पातयाम्यात्मानम् ।" (ह p 335) or 'अप्रतिहतरथरहसा रघुणा लघुनैव कालेनाकारि ककुभां प्रसादनम् । शरासनद्वितीयः करदीचकार चक्र क्रमागतभुजबलाभिजनधनमदावलिप्ताना भूभुजां पाण्डुः ।" (ह p 371) Here is Krsnamacariar's compliment to Bana's diction and descriptions: "His language is chaste yet ornate and learned yet charming, and his descriptions show no end of their resources The meeting of सरस्वती and दधीच, the last embrace of प्रभाकरवर्धन of his son, these for instance in हर्षचरित, the begining of the narrative by the parrot, the advice of S'ukanasa to Candrapida, the progress of the amours of Kādambari and Candrapida in the Gandharva capital and the pleasant associations of the lovers after vicissitudes, —these for instance in Kadambari, are worthy of a special appreciation" Bāna depicts with the same minuteness and gusto the fair Mahāsveta as he does the dark Candalakanyā.

Bhūsana also has given us several decriptions which show how he had inherited considerable literary abilities of his father He has graphically described Candrapida's dismay at Vais'ampāyana's non-return with the army (pp 273-4) and his wonder as to why Vais'ampayana should prefer to stay at Acchoda (p 280) A graphic description of morning (p. 284), the condemnation of वैशम्पायन by शुकनास (pp 286-9), the shrewd speech of astrologers (p 294), Vilāsavati bidding adieu to Candrapida starting for the recovery of वैशम्पायन (pp 295 6), Kādambari's poignant speech of taking leave of Madalekha (pp 315-6), Tarapida's consolation of

Vilasavati (pp 334 5) are some of the other striking passages in Bhūṣaṇas' work Sukanasa's address (pp 331-8) shows Bhuṣaṇa to be a chip of that old block His varied knowledge is seen herein

Baṇa shows great skill and discrimination in characterisation, His characters in Harṣacarita and Kadambari are lifelike and well drawn The affectionate father प्रभाकरवर्धन the moody and saintly राज्यवर्धन, the serene and heroic हर्ष, the ill fated charming राज्यश्री, the gentle and youth ful हारीत, the generous and loving तारापीड the wise and loyal शुकनास the tender and devoted *विलासवती, the intelligent and devoted पत्रलेखा, the affectionate yet* stern Kapiñjala, the holy and fair महाश्वेता, who serves as a foil to the coy, yet vivicious कादम्बरी, are some of the immortal characters that he presents in his two गद्यकाव्य. All these impress the reader greatly Baṇa of course, has lavished his skill in full bounty in describing the hero and heroine of the Kadambari And like Kalidasa or Shakespeare Baṇa too depicts the heroines more strikingly than his heroes In Harṣacarita Baṇa was dealing with a historical personality as his hero (there is no heroine therein) and he has presented his hero with a fair historical veracity, and has not given more overtones than historical Kavya can reasonably have Baṇa's characters are not always clearly individualised they often appear as broad types But Baṇa has shown generally deep insight into the working of human mind He excels specially in characterising his heroine and the characters of Kadambari and Mahaśveta are finely individualised the maidenly love of Kadambari torn between new born longing and filial duty, being set off by the pathetic fidelity of the lovelorn Mahaśveta, awaiting her lover for long years on the shores of the Acchoda lake

' Allthough most of the characters of the Kadambari are shadowy and some of them are in their second or even third birth, the poets' genius is so superb and his power of developing love and pathos is so great that the reader soon forgets the unreal character of the work and his mind is enthralled by the engrossing interest of the woes and happiness of his characters' (Kane)

"We find ourselves face to face with the story of human sorrow and divine consolation, of death and the passionate longing for a union after death, that goes straight from the heart of one who had himself felt the pang and nursed the hope to us who are of like frame with him" (Peterson)

Bana delineates various sentiments with great ability The love between महाश्वेता and पुण्डरीक or कादम्बरी and चन्द्रापीड is described with great psychological insight and deft touches While the description of Prabhakaravardhana's death or Yasomati's self immolation or the tragic condition of Mahasveta or Kadambari with their lovers dead for the time, are described with a touching pathos Bana specially excels in depicting विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार and करुण

Bana s treatment of love is done in a very chaste style, free from grossness Unlike Dasakumaracarita, which many times degenerates in vulgarity, Bana presents various aspects and stages of love with great precision, sympathy, understanding and unimpeachable good taste To him love is a lasting reality which binds souls together in a succession of births too And that love is an inborn emotion which unfolds itself at the proper time under proper circumstances (cp 'काले हि गुणाश्च दुर्निवारतामन्नयन्ति [illegible]

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though he does follow many a routine poetic conceit or convention in his references to trees and flowers birds and beasts still on the whole he shows himself to be a great lover, close observor and deft describer of Nature He has described the flora and fauna of India with great charm, though sometimes his descriptions are overdrawn fanciful and verbose " Both in his descriptions of natural objects and his poetic imagination, Bana's words breathe a freshness and vigour that bespeak of a warm and sincere admiration for the grandeur of nature which the Indian scenery offers to a poetic mind And in this respect he has very few equals even among oriental poets " (Kale)

Bana was a close observer of man and nature, of courts and kings, of hermitages and forests—actually of the varied vista of life His descriptions of court and citylife or of hermitages and village-life present a picture of times in which he lived The advice of S'ukanasa is a masterpiece, universal in import The description of the old Dravida ascectic, though somewhat long drawn and tedious, shows that he had an eye for the ridiculous and the bizarre The Harṣacarita is of great interest to the antiquarian for the fact that it affords a vivid picture of Indian society in the 7th century and of the manners and customs of those far off days Baṇa also shows in all his work a very sturdy commonsense, and a vigorous eloquence So also we always find in his works the rich dividends of the wide experience of life he gained in his early travels and then residence at royal court which gave him a close knowledge of men and matters

Weber as back as in 1853 has, in a well known, oft-quoted, but somewhat one sided tirade censured Baṇa's ornateness in the following words " Kādambarī compares most unfavourably with the Daśakumaracarita by a subtety and tautology which are almost repugnant, by an outrageous overloading of single words with epithet the narrative proceeds in a strain of bombastic nonsense, amidst which, it, and if not it then the patience of the reader, threatens to perish altogether a mannerism already apparent in the Daśakumaracarita is here carried to excess the verb is kept back to the second, third, fourth, nay once to the sixth

page, and all the interval is filled with epithets and epithets to these epithets moreover these epithets frequently consist of compounds extending over more than one line, in short Bana's prose is an Indian wood, where all progress is rendered impossible by the undergrowth until the traveller cuts out a path for himself and where, even then, he has to reckon with malicious wild beasts in the shape of unknown words that affright him' (from Weber's review of Kadambari contributed to the magazine of German Oriental Society in 1853, quoted by Dr Peterson in his Introduction to Kadambari p 37) Macdonell also shows great impatience with Baṇa's ornate descriptions cp A History of Sanskrit Literature by A A Macdonell pp 332-4 " Thus in twentyfive pages .. and so forth ". Keith .has the following remarks to make on Weber's criticism The censure is just, Baṇa revels in the construstion of sentences consisting of heaped up epithets in compound form, throwing away all the advantages of an inflected language, moreover he loves to pile up in these compounds double meanings, and these he brings about repeately by the use of rare senses of ordinary words or the use of utterly abnormal phraseology " But before condemning Baṇa in the Weberian style, we must remember that an author is to a considerable extent a product of his time Baṇa lived at a time when the presence of long compounds was considared the very life of prose (ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम्) The Sanskrit Prose Romace had for its sine qua non " a richness of imagery, wealth of description, frequency of rhetorical ornaments, length of compounds and elaboration of sentences, a grandiose pitch of sound and sense " (De & Dasgupta) An author was also expected to display his erudition by profuse allusions to mythology, legend, history, geography, literature and the like, some of which allusions would be most recondite too श्लेष was expected to be an important hand-maid to वक्रोक्तिपूर्ण काव्य, गद्यकाव्य was also expected to be cp. Daṇḍin's काव्यादर्श II 363 (श्लेषः सर्वासु पुष्णाति प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु श्रियम् । भिन्नं द्विधा स्वभावोक्तिर्वक्रोक्तिश्चेति वाङ्मयम् ॥) The Scholar in a writer got the better of the poet in him, and so we find in such authors a craze of epithets, epithets of epithets, synonymous phrases in different wording, vakroktis and alaṃkaras of various

types,—all *often spun out to such an extent that the author seemed* to halt ultimately in sheer exhaustion And when an author *adopts such a style he courts displeasure of the average reader and* gets drastic strictures as Baṇa got from Weber and Co, though ancient critics whose opinion has much pertinency as contemporary verdict, have paid rich encomia to him

Weber's charge seems justified with reference to those passages where Baṇa is over-ornate But there is the other facet of Baṇa's style where he is charmingly simple And even in the so called difficult passages one with a good knowledge of Sanskrit and an acquaintance with Baṇa's conventional ideas, can have a fairly easy journey through the 'wood', with a scratch here and there at the most! And Weber has totally ignored those passages *where Baṇa is a model of best Sanskrit prose e g description of* Acchoda, Kapiñjala's admonition to Puṇḍarīka Candrāpīḍa's *consolation of Mahāśvetā or his argument against* अनुमरण and the like Rightly does Prin Karmarkar observe " There (in such passages) *you find the four characteristics of a good prose style,* —regularity uniformity, precision and balance, properly illustrated *The small clauses are nicely balanced even the number of words* in them properly regulated, the use of past participles, doing away *with the verb altogether, the shifting of the position of the verb,* sometimes at the beginning sometimes in the middle and some*times at the end, the use of simple figures of speech in apt manner,* like सहोक्ति, विरोध, भ्रान्तिमान, निदर्शना, मालोपमा, रशनोपमा,—these are some of the characteristic of Baṇa's style He is, of course, the supreme master of श्लेष and परिसंख्या and in spite of all his love for exaggeration and out of way allusions, *Baṇa* displays ample poetic genius capable of attracting a sympathetic student of Sanskrit literature

A very prominent flaw in Baṇa's style is that his works abound in too many puns on words, many times intricate, and *there are many recondite allusions* These features, used with god's plenty, often smother the original narrative and make his work somewhat दुर्बोध at places From the modern angle these features constitute a blemish of style, but in Baṇa's time these

literary by-ways were called 'वक्रोक्तिs', and were said to be decorations of poetry Does not सुबन्धु, for example, boast of his प्रत्यक्षरश्लेष ?

Another drawback is the tendency to box stories into stories, *giving rise* to a great complexity of structure to the story, which the reader often finds difficulty to remember coherently Curious turns of events, and curses and countercurses make the story often very complex, and ornate and spun out descriptions make the progress of the story very halting Even this is a fault which Bana shares with many Indian authors "The fact that the greater part of the story is put in the mouth of a parrot is a serious drawback to the verisimilitude of the work", says Mm Kane. We wonder how far!

But the greatest handicap to Baṇa's constructive art is his weakness for elaborating the tales, by dwelling on too much details, 'in a style which draws prose and poetry together in an unnatural alliance' The sense of proportion is the very foundation of style and treatment, and Bana has too prodigal an imagination and too much proneness to descriptions to achieve the proper proportion in his work cp e g the too lavish and fanciful descriptions of Ujjayini, Vindhya, Jabali's hermitage, the temple of Caṇḍikā, the night the morning Mahaśveta's beauty etc, which give 'wonderful word pictures no doubt, but most of them certainly overdone' "Baṇa's power of observation and picturesque description, his love for nature, his eye for colour and ear for music, the richness of his fancy and his wealth of words, are excellences which are unquestioned, but they are seldom kept within moderate bounds His choice of subject may be good, but his choice of scale is fatal The readiness of his resources is truly astonishing, but the exaggeration often swamps the reality of his pictures' *Sometimes there are absurdities in matters of detail. The young* physician रसायन committing suicide on the eve of प्रभाकरवर्धन's death seems to be too fanatically sentimental!

Baṇa can be forcible and direct when he chooses But pretty often he is tempted to be verbose and then "Bana allows no topic

to pass until he can squeeze no more out of it Whether in description or in speeches of lamentations and exhortations no *possible detail is missed no existing variety of synoymous epithets* omitted, no romantic symbolism and conceit overlooked, nor any brilliant rhetoric device ignored Herein he reminds one of Bhavabhūti who also often describs at length what a Kalidasa may compress in a few words or lines

One woders at Bana's literary gifts and still cannot but feel that the Master commits mistakes of excesses in verbosity, abtruseness and descriptive element " It seems strange that one should *be capable of denying the splendour of Bana s prose at its best,* it is eccentric, excessive and even wasteful, but its organ voice is majestic in movement and magnificent in volume and melody" (D D) Bana's prose is too highflown at many places and his wonderful spell of language and picturesque imagery often smothers *the main story or sentiments But it has made Bana famous for* the very extravagant charm of his diction and imagery! Bana has combined in him a rich ornateness of style and rich sensitiveness to tender human emotions Bana is known for an amazing command over words a beautiful phraseology, rich in imagery and word-music, *an extravagance of expressions and ideas often piled up in* a single para or even sentence and here and there a beautiful *piece of simple yet artistic finish " Bana's work impresses us* by its unfailing and unrestrained wealth of power we have here not an abundance but a riot, a love of all that is grand and glorious in fact or fiction

Bana has often the habit of repeating himself Whether in description or narration or conversation Bana would not be satisfied unless he expresses a particular idea with every existing variety of synonymns Though such passages are an eloquent *testimony to the poet s richness of resources and ready* wit, they often tire us by their profusion and become a defect

In longer descriptions especially Bana often displays a lack of *sense of proportion* Bana tries to load his descriptions with all sorts of factual details and poetic devices and the reader s patience *threatens to perish with what Weber calls an outrageous over-*

loading of single words with epithets and epithets to these epithets So also at times some passages seem to be spun out to an improbable length in a particular situation e g Prabhakarvardhana's death-bed advice to his son or Skandagupta's advice to young king Harṣa on the evils of too confiding a nature at that critical moment, are inordinately lengthened out and appear improbable and unrealistic So also in his descriptions of Mahaśveta and the temple of Caṇḍikā he tires the reader by dwelling too much on every detail Often the poet seems to be interested in grand descriptions of morning or evening or of some person or place, leaving the plot to take care of itself

Another flaw of Bana's writing is the unreality of atmosphere at places Because Baṇa's extravagance of style has affected his delineation of characters and sentiments which lack reality occasionally, But inspite of the element of marvel and magic, which was a recognised concommittant of a popular romantic tale, Baṇa still displays considerable power of characterisation and delineation of sentiments The scene in Kadambari shifts between the world of fancy in the Gandarvaland beyond Himalayas and the world of humanity in Ujjayini, where king Tarapica and his wise minister S'ukanasa, hold court in royal splendour "The world of fancy is conceived as vividly as the world of humanity, but the whole unreal machinery fades away when we are brought face to face with a tale of human love and sorrow, set forth in its idyllic charm as well as its depth of pathos" (DD)

A Metrical Note —"The number of verses used by Baṇa is small, though less limited than in the case of सुबन्धु Baṇa does not observe the rules laid down by भामह that the आख्यायिका should contain at the beginning of each उच्छ्वास, वक्त्र and अपर वक्त्र verses, announcing the subject of the chapter The first Ucchvasa of the Harṣacarita has an introduction on poetry; the other have two verses, but the form is either two आर्याs or a श्लोक and an आर्या In the body of the chapters we have an अपरवक्त्र in i three stanzas, वसन्ततिलका, शार्दूलविक्रीडित and अपरवक्त्र in ii, two pairs, आर्या and मालिनी in iii, a pair of verses, वक्त्र and अपरवक्त्र and a detached आर्या in iv, a श्लोक and an अपरवक्त्र in v; a d an

आर्या in vi the last two have no inserted verses The वक्त्र of बाण is not the श्लोक as in metrical textbooks, but a sort of श्लोक with a spondee at the close of even lines The Kadambari after its verse prelude in वंशस्थ metre is essentially in prose (Keith slightly adapted)

Bāṇa's literary views —Bāṇa had some specific views about literature and poets and he has presented them at places in the introductory verses to his Harṣacarita and Kadambari and also in some occasional references in these works Bana has laid a fundamental norm about *really great poetry viz that it should be* creative Only a poet who is 'उत्पादक', who has something new to say is a great poet, the innumerable poetasters (जातिभाज) *who produce trite poetry with too commonplace* स्वभावोक्ति *are* poets only in name, not in fact Unless the poet has something novel or original to say and unless he presents it in a poetic way, *he has no claim to* कवित्व *Obviously Bana wants that poetry* should have वक्रोक्ति as a soul of poetic style Bana does not vote agaist स्वभावोक्ति per se, he would admit स्वभावोक्ति which conveys *things with striking charm (अग्राम्या जाति) i e Bana admits* स्वभावोक्ति as one of the अलङ्कारs

Bana has noted the regional peculiarities of poetry in his days cp श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु प्रतीच्येषु अर्थमात्रकम् । उत्प्रेक्षा दाक्षिणात्येषु गौडेष्वक्षरडम्बरम् ॥ (हर्ष Int V 7) But Bana wanted a समन्वय of all necessary elements of poetry to make the really best poetry Acc to him the following constitute the essentials of poetry, which as he also observes, are rarely to be found together. नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः स्फुटो रसः । विकटाक्षरबन्धश्च कृत्स्नमेकत्र दुष्करम् ॥—ह Intro V 8 Bana has tried to live up to this norm in his own compositions

Being a prose writer, he has some specific views on the *requirements of the good prose style* Thus he has remarked in Kadambari (p 90) that 'उत्कृष्टकविगद्य (इव) विविधवर्णश्रेणिप्रतिपाद्यमानतभिनवार्थसञ्चयम (राजकुलम)'। Wherein he emphasizes both *the sound and sense aspects* In Kadmbari (Intro vv 7-9) also he has given his idea about a कथा (cp गमापित ना fिविज्ञस्यो गलाश

दुर्जनस्याकरिपारिवामृतम् । तदेव धत्ते हृदयेन सज्जना हरिमहारत्नमिवातिनिर्मलम् ॥ स्फुरत्कलालापविलासकोमला करोति राग हृदि कौतुकाधिकम् । रसेन शय्या स्वयमभ्युपागता कथा जनस्याभिनवा वधूरिव ॥ हरन्ति क नोज्वलदीपकोपमैर्नवै पदार्थैरुपपादिता कथा । निरन्तरश्लेषघना सुजातयो महास्रजश्चम्पककुड्मलैरिव ॥)

Bana has severely condemded the plagiarists in his introductory verses to Harsacarita, but he has not criticized anyone by name But when Bana has praised some eminent predecessors of his and some literary masterpieces known to him, he has named them, bestowed an unstinted meed of praise to them This shows बाण's excellent manners.

Banabhatta's learning — Bana was a very learned person He personally testifies to this cp सम्यक पठित साङ्गो वेद । श्रुतानि यथाशक्ति शास्त्राणि — Harsa III and his Harsacarita and Kadambari are monumental standing evidence thereof We find therein his varied learning which shows his acquaintance with (1) Srutis, Smrtis and Vedangas (2) The different darsanas (3) The Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas (4) Indian mythology in general and (5) Several other miscellaneous lores We now present a fairly detailed evidence thereof —

(1) References to Srutis, Smrtis and Vedangas — (a) शिष्यद्वयेनेव पदक्रममुखरेण—ह p 12 (b) Reference to अघमर्षण—ह p 22 का p 133 (c) व्याकरणमिव प्रथममध्यमोत्तमपुरुषविभक्तिस्थितानेकादेशकारकाख्यातसंप्रदानक्रियाव्ययप्रपञ्चसुस्थितम् — का p 90 (d) ज्योतिषमिव गृहमोक्षकलाभागनिपुणम् —का p 91 (e) दीक्षितवाचमिवाप्राकृताम् । — का p 131 (f) अस्मरसपदवृत्तिमिवाष्ट द्वाम — का p 131 (g) आर्यामिव समुपात्तयतिगणोचितमानाम् —का p 131

(2) References to Darsanas —(a) साख्यमिव कपिलाधिष्ठितम् — का p 40 (b) साख्यागमेनेव प्रधानपुरुषोपेतेन—का p 51 (c) असत्तावनभिवादृष्टदारम्— का p 124 (d) मीमांसयेवालक्ष्यभावनानुविद्धया— का p 131 (e) Bana has referred to प्राणायाम, पद्मासन, मणिपट्टिका, समाधि etc from the योगशास्त्र at various places (f) Reference to दयान in "भास्वमध्यनायकमनेमुक्तानुयातमपवर्गमार्गमिव हारमुद्वहन्ती।' — ह p 12

(3) References to Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas:— (a) दशरथ इव रामोन्मादेन मृत्युमवाप—ह p. 145-6 (b) सागर इव सगरप्रभवान्—ह. p 196 (c) रामायणमिव सविश्वामित्रमाकुलम्—का. p. 91 (d) The entire para 19 on pp. 21-22 of Kadambari bristles with Ramayana references. (e) राघवशरप्रहारजर्जरितजीर्णतालतरुखण्डस्य च समीपे—का p. 23 (f) अनवरतशरनिकरविपरामनिहतखरदूषणबलनिवहमिव—का p. 29 (g) रामानुरागो रामायणेन न यौवनेन—का. p. 41 (h) Harṣa intro v. 3 refers to व्यास and his भारत (i) Harṣa intro. v. 9 refers to भारती कथा (j) तथैव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम्—Harṣa intro. v. 11 (k) महाभारतभावितात्मानः—हर्ष p. 142 (l) यस्य न द्वितीयमहाभारते भवेदस्य चरिते कुतूहलम्—ह p. 149 (m) विविधवीररसवृत्तान्तरमणीयेन महाभारत लघयन्निव—ह. p. 326 (n) यत्र च महाभारते शकुनिवधः—का p 41 (o) महाभारतमिवानन्तगीताकर्णनानन्दितनरम्—का p 90 (p) अपरिमितबलभरखान्ता मन्ये स्मरति महाभारतसमरमक्षोभस्याद स्थिति—का p 118 (q) भारतमिव पाण्डुधृतराष्ट्रकुलक्षतक्षोभम्—का. p. 113 (r) सर्वमङ्गलमहीयसि महाभारते दत्तावधानाम्—का p 209 (s महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा, —का. p 51 (t) हरिवंशबन्धेयानेकबालक्रीडारमणीया—का. p. 52 (u) कृष्णबालचरितमिव तटकदम्बशाखाधिरूढहरिसूनजलप्रपातक्रीडम्—का p. 123 (v) पुराणे वायुप्रलपितम्—का p. 41 (w) पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराण पपाठ—ह p 140 (x) पुराणमिव यथाविभागावस्थापितसकलभुवनकोशम्—का. p. 90

(4) References to Indian Mythology in general — (a) न्यक्कृतनृगनल . स्वामी—ह p. 86 (b) नास्य हरेरिव .. श्रिय —ह. p. 126 (c) तात बाण ..उन्मृष्टवान्—ह pp. 143-7 (d) अत्र बलजिता .. महासमारम्भा.—ह pp 147 9 (e) गुरुर्वचमि ... प्रजाकर्मणि—ह. p 163 (f) लोकत्रय .. .. भरतेन —ह. p. 307 (g) आसन्नवर्तिना .. .. स्त्रीराज्यम् — ह. pp 371-2 (h) अग्निशापात् .. परिवृत्तिः—का p. 13 (i) पुरा चण्डकौशिक ... चतुरः पुत्रान्—का. p 62 (j) पुरा किल ....उवास—का. p. 80 (k) दशरथ . प्रतिमा.—का p 117 (l) स्मर तावत ....जीविताः—का. p 174 (m) विश्वावसुना . आनीतयान् —का p. 175 (n) जानकीव .. एति—का. 256 (These are just some select passages, Bana's extensive and deep knowledge of Indian mythology is seen practically on every page of his work

(5) Miscellaneous references to other lores — (a) Bana's acquaintance with अलङ्कारशास्त्र would be clear from our discussion about Bana's literary views elsewhere in this chapter (b) काव्यनाटकाख्यायिकाख्यानव्याख्यानादिक्रियानिपुणं —का p 7 (c) reference to वर्णामृतकथा— का p 19 (d) उदयनमिव अभिनन्दितवत्सकुलम् —K p 40 (e) शिक्षितायोषदन्तभ दन बक्षाक्रिनिपुणनाख्यायिकाख्यानपरिचयचतुरेण सकलिपिनेन महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा बृहत्कथाकुशलेन— K p 51 (f) पलितमतिरत्य नीतिशास्त्रविज्ञवृद्धि अधीतधर्मशास्त्र— K p 53 (g) Reference to कोश (सुबन्धु's ?) and वीथिसरवजातकानि H pp 414-415 (h) Reference to Buddhism and Jainism बौद्धमत जीवानुकम्पिना— K p 51 (i) Reference to काव्यगाष्ठी परिहासकथा (light talk) बिन्दुमती, प्रहेलिका नरपतिवृत्तकाव्यमभाषितानि, द्विपदी and अविरण — K p 88 (j) नरवाहनदत्तचरितमिवान्त मर्वधितप्रियदर्शनाजवदारिकागयवन्तीलम्भन — K p 91 (k) नारदीयमिवाण्यम नगजयमम—K p 91 (l) कौटिल्यशास्त्रम — K p 109 (m) बौद्धबुद्धिमिव निरालम्बनाम— K p 131 (n) लोकायतविद्यवाधमरच — K p 150 (o) References to दुर्गास्तोत्र, कुहकतन्त्रमन्त्रपुस्तिका and महाकालमत, which seem to be some religious tracts— K pp 226 7 (p) K p 297 8 Tarapida's speech at Candrapida's departure shows Bhusana's proficiency in अर्थशास्त्र (q) K p 347 'श्रुतौ जीवनीति' shows Bhusana's erudition]

Banabhatta's Religion Banabhatta was a devotee of S'iva as can be seen very clearly from his works But at the same time we find that he was no bigot he was rather a person like Kalidasa who believed in 'Unity in Trinity, (of Brahma Visnu and Siva), and yet had a special affinity for Siva as also Parvati We may describe him in other words as a Vedantin in principles and Sivabhakta in practice We enumerate the references which show his religious inclinations —

(a) Bana a Siva devotee — (i) vv 1 2 from हर्षचरित Intro verses salute शम्भु and उमा respectively (ii) Savitri advised *Sarasvati to propitiate lord S'iva when she was cursed by Durvasas* (cp 'अन मयरण्या चाधव प्रमति प्रतिपदस्व मन्मा वाचा क्रियया च दवदव त्रिभुवनगुरु त्र्यम्बकम। अपायनव कालेन स त शापशान्तिरनिनिरिष्यति' इति। p 23) (iii) There is reference to सिद्धविरचित

चालुक्यालिङ्गस at हर्ष. p 30 (iv) Sarasvatī, residing on the western bank of S'oṇa, worships the eight divine forms of lord S'iva by offering अष्टपुष्पिका (cp. पुलिनपृष्ठ... अष्टपुष्पिकामदात् ।)—हर्ष p. 30). (v) When Bāṇa received the message from Kṛṣṇa to come to Harṣa's court, he was hesitant for a while; but ultimately decided to go relying on S'iva's favour (cp. सर्वथा भगवान् भवानीपतिर्भुवनपतिर्गतस्य मे शरणम् ।—हर्ष p. 90). (vi) And while proceeding on that journey he worshipped S'iva (देवदेवस्य विरूपाक्षस्य... विधाय परमया भक्त्या पूजाम्— ह p 90) (vii) While describing पुष्पभूति's शिवभक्ति, Bāṇa has praised S'iva in highly eulogistic terms cp यतस्तस्य ....पशुपतिं प्रपन्नो ऽन्यदेवताशून्यममन्यत त्रैलोक्यम् --ह p. 164 (viii) When हर्ष's march is described at the beginning of Uc. VII. Harṣa is described as worshipping S'iva then cp. विरचय्य परमया भक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्यार्चाम् ।—ह p 350 (ix) King Bhāskaravarman is described at Harṣa Uc VII (p. 383) where it is said about him: अयमस्य च शैशवादारभ्य सङ्कल्प. स्थेयान्स्थाणुपादारविन्दद्वयादृते नाहमन्यं नमस्कुर्यामिति । (x) Harṣa's appreciative remark about Bhāskaravarman's S'ivabhakti shows Harṣa's devotion to S'iva (स्वय बाहुशाली मयि च समालम्बितशरासने सुहृदि हरादृते कमन्य नम-यति ।—ह p 385) (xi) In Kādambarī introductory verse 2 Bāṇa pays homage to S'iva (xii) King S'ūdraka also worshipped S'iva (cp उपरचितपशुपतिपूजनः—K p 16). (xiii) Mahākāla of Ujjayinī is described as भुवनत्रयसर्गस्थितिसंहारकारिन् (K. p. 50). (xiv) Mahākāla is described with great reverence in the उज्जयिनीवर्णन (cp. यस्यां सुरासुर... स्वयं निवसति— K. p. 53). (xv) Mahās'vetā is described as a great devotee of S'iva cp. अद्राक्षीत्... भगवन्तं त्र्यम्बकम् । (K. p 128) (xvi) When महाश्वेता as a young girl had come for a bath to Acchoda she saluted S'iva images (cp. अत्र च स्नानार्थं ... वन्दमाना—K. p 138). (xvii) Mahās'vetā in her distress sought resort with S'iva (देव त्रैलोक्यनाथ.... स्थाणुमाश्रिता – K. p 172) (xviii) Candrāpīḍa, when he visited गन्धर्वलोक, had worshipped S'iva there (cp अत्र कुसुमधूलिसिकतिले गिरिनदिकातटे भगवानर्चितः शूलपाणि ।—K. p 213) (xix) King तारापीड is called परममाहेश्वरः (K p 221) (Even Bhūṣaṇa seems to inhere his father's शिवभक्ति, for he salutes गिरिसुतापरमेश्वरौ in Kad. Uttarabhāga Intro v. 1; and makes Vais'ampāyana also a devotee of S'iva cp. " प्रणम्य.. भगवन्तं भवानीप्रभुं महेश्वरं शशाङ्कशकलशेखरं व्रजाम ।—K. p 276

(b) Bana's Vedantic bent — (i) In Kadambari intro v 1 Bana speaks of Unity in Trinity (ii) Jabali s asrama is said to be 'अर्च्यमानहरिहरपितामह' (K p 40)

(c) Some miscellaneous references showing Bana's broad religious sympathies (i) There is a reference to 'सर्वविद्यासिद्धिविघ्नविनायक' at ह pp 171 2 (ii) The Assam king's वैष्णवध्वज is referred to with admiration at ह p 386 (iii) दिवाकरमित्र is described as "परमसौगतमपि अवलोकितेश्वरम्" (ह p 416) (iv) Bana s high regard for Buddhism is shown by the following passage in Uc VIII "भगवन् ! सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पिनी वचसाम ।" (हच pp 428 9) and "मम हि गुरू आरोपयिष्यति ।" (हच p 430) (v) Kadambari intro v 3 pays homage to Visnu (Bhusanabana in Kad Uttara intro v 2 salutes Narayana)

Epilogue — When we read Bana's works and turn over the last page, the impression we carry is of having met a master mind of literary art His absolute mastery over Sanskrit language, his rich variety of style, his fine delineation of the whole gamut of sentiments ranging from शृङ्गार, वीर and करुण to बीभत्स, अद्भुत and शान्त (to mention some at random), and his power of making a character, scene or situation to live as if before our mind leaves us spellbound We gladly concede that Bana really in a "वश्यवाणीकविचक्रवर्तिन" Defects no doubt he has—for who is free from them?—*but they appear to us to be due to his times* rather than an inherent fault in his muse and before the full splendour of the glory of his all sided genius, they become comparable to the spots on the sun (G) We have often felt that with Kalidasa and Sankara Bana makes the Trimurti of Sanskrit Literature

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CHAPTER VIII
SOCIETY IN BĀNABHATTA'S WORKS

'कार्य व्यवहारविदे' —मम्मट

Introductory —When we try to get a picture of contemporary life from literary works, we cannot expect to get a detailed co-ordinated account of the social facts by the very nature of things For in literary works the author s main objective is to *unfold his literary art and references to social life are only made* incidentally We have to piece together such references and details to get a social account Further in literary works—and specially so in case of Sanskrit literary works—fact is freelly mixed with the fictious, the fanciful and the supernatural So we have to sift the evidence carefully and choose only that which appears to be historically and factually sound But if we proceed on these lines with due caution, we do generally get a fair idea of the social background of a work, because after all the life around an author enters in many ways in the life of make belief which he tries to project in his work We shall now try to have a pen picture of the society in which Baṇa seems to have lived and moved about basing onr conclusions on the material furnished by his works

The people and their professions — The people in general belonged to the Aryan stock They were fair in oomplexion had big eyes rich hair, acquiline noses broad foreheads and chests and muscular arms and thighs [cp आयतलोचनम (का p २०) आयतललाट० (ह p ७४) उन्नतघोणम (का p १९)] The aboriginal tribes *like the Bhils and others had a different appearance being* possessed of dark eyebrows redish eyes flat noses,broad lips and chins prominert cheek bones and well formed bodies The lower class of people seemed to be mainly coming form Dravida and Simhala countries [cp the description of Tarapila s servents आ न्द्रविडसिंहलप्रायेण (सेवकजनेन)-का p 88] and these were generally engaged in menial service

There were four castes in the soc ety they were based on criterion of birth The Brahmins had a superior social status and

a Brahmin was expected to be revered for his birth whatever his qualifications and abilities [cp अमन्त्रज्ञमनयोऽपि जन्मैव द्विजमानो माननीयः ।— ह p ११, also cp ह p ११३ where पुष्पभूति sets off a wicked Naga because he was Brahmin] But it should be noted also that there were several Brahmins like the Vatsyayanas, who were sages of high eminence, religious, dutiful, straightforward and never caring for worldly glory [cp ह pp ३९ ४० for the description of the Vatsyayanas] Bana, while describing his cousins, houses (Uc II Para I) gives a graphic picture of typical houses of the श्रोत्रिय and their surroundings So also when Bana gives a spirited rejoinder in self—defence to Emperor Harsa who at the first interview, first twitted Bana, gives in the that rejoinder many Brahmanic and scholarly qualifications of his, which deserved a better treatment (cp ब्राह्मणोऽस्मि जातः ... अभ्यागारिकोऽस्मि । ... अनपराधोऽस्मि ।—ह II) Further when Bana returns from Harsa's court,he questions his kinsmen about matters that were vital to the Brahmins of his days viz the performance of sacrifices, the incessant study of the Vedas the grammar, logic, the मीमांसा and poetry The caste system was rigid, and Brahmins did not take food at the house of the other three varnas [cp ह p 63 'वर्णत्रयव्यावृत्तिविशुद्धान्धस'] The diksitas would avoid prakrit speech [cp का p 131 'दीक्षितवाचमिवाप्राकृताम्] Brahmin priests were invited at religious and household ceremonies The performance of animal sacrifices was fairly common. [cp नीहारद्रुमारच्छागशावकप्रवर्तितपशुबन्धप्रबन्धानि (अवनानि)— ह pp. 72 73] Marriage rules generally were strictly for marriages in the same community, But अनुलोम marriages seemed to be in vogue Bana speaks of पारशव ब्राह्मण as his cousins (uncle s sons, born of Sudra wife and hence पारशव) [cp ह ४१ ' भ्रातरौ पारशवौ चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ We wonder whether they were cousins of Bana as Mm Kane and others take them to be, or step brothers of Bana Bana has specifically mentioned his mother राजदेवी to be ब्राह्मणी so perhaps his father had some शूद्रा wife too '] A प्रतिलोम marriage, however, with a Brahmana as a party, was held to be sinful [cp ह p ८८ where ययाति is said to have become पतित because he married देवयानी,a ब्राह्मणी] Brahmins who became converts to other faiths were called पाराशरि. A Brahmin-

killer had to undergo a very serious expiation [cp ह p २२२ 'ब्रह्मघ्न इव प्रतिदिवसवन्दनोद्घृष्टशिर कपालस्य ।]

Though Royalty was often connected with Ksatriyahood, it was not an invariable order of the day Emperor Harsa, according to C V Vaidya and Hiuen Tsang, was a Vais'ya (though others have contested this view) Ksatriyas were known by their वंश or by गोत्र Polygamy, which was commonly seen amongst people then, was more so in royalty The favourite game of royalty was hunting and Candrapida and Harsavardhana are both described as *enjoying hunting expeditions*

The caste of Vais'yas was generally a trading caste, though they occasionally distinguished themselves in other fields as well The term शूद्र mainly indicated the aboriginals like the Bhils etc We have reference to Simhalas, Dravidas etc who were mainly employed in menial jobs The S'udras were generally busy with agriculture and menial service There were several subcastes also, *caused by intercaste marriages*

Though चातुर्वर्ण्य was the basis of social structure, the occupations of people were varied and they occasionally were taken to without a particular caste label In a growing social order and advancing civilisation variety of occupations was just a logical outcome [cp the description of a village at हर्ष pp ९४-९७ and description of Bana s companions at हर्ष pp ४१-४२ to get an idea about the variety of professions] With that was also generally waning the class-consciousness though the caste system was existing Besides the wide variety of professions, high an low we have Buddhist and Jain monks and nuns, doing the work of [illegible] of religion We have [illegible] so called magic and [illegible] tion of the old द्रविड धार्मिक in कादम्बरी amply shows how he was deceived by various ascetics with nice promises of securing of ample wealth and a charming bride by some magical means "

If seems that there was continuous warfare going on in these days, and this made the social life far from stable and prosperous

on the whole Harṣa was engaged in warfare for nearly thirty years Candrāpīda embarked on दिग्विजय to establish his suzerainty It seems that royalty delighted in asserting and parading supremacy by power of arms And when a great king would pass away the empire often started to crumble and crash

Brahmins generally lived up by the profession of priesthood and teaching The other communities had their usual professions, and further, as said above, a wide variety of professions had grown The list of Bāṇa's companions in his young journeys shows "what strange medley of people an orthodox Brahmaṇa could associate without running any serious risk of losing caste or position "

Bāṇa refers to Natakas Naṭa's, [cp ह p 19 reference to शैलूष] dancers directors of dramas [cp ह p 434 reference to नाटकसूत्रधारी] We cannot say for certain whether well formed dramatic companies were then in vogue It seems that in Bāṇa s days, dancing was popularly *represented on the stage and not the* plays, which were probably displayed on occasions like Yatrās as Bhavabhūti indicates But we should note that Naṭas were not looked upon with much respect in Bāṇa s days while the catholic Bhavabhūti has no scruples in being on intimate friendly terms with the actors [1] There were यमपट्टिक also in Bāṇa's days, who would present on picture screens the happenings in Yama's kingdom

Social Customs and Manners —From occasional references we can get some idea about the code of customs and manners of that age It seems girls had a fair amount of education and a fair measure of freedom of movement as could be seen from the *prevalence of Gandharva marriage The reference is Harṣa's* Nagananda viz 'निर्दोषदर्शना खलु कन्यका ' reflects the same fact Friends and well wishers generally served as useful and helpful mediators e g. सावित्री to सरस्वती in हर्षचरित, or कपिञ्जल to महाश्वेता in कादम्बरी But we also find that sensible girls like सरस्वती, महाश्वेता or कादम्बरी took care to see that they choose a good person before falling head over heel in love with him

Hosts were expected to be respectful towards guests, and formalities of speech and reception were meticulously observed e g the conversation of सावित्री, सरस्वती, दधीच and विकुक्षि in the हर्षचरित, or that between चन्द्रापीड and महाश्वेता, or the address of मदलेखा to Cadrapida and the latter's reply thereto Women were treated with great courtesy Respect was shown to great and elderly persons e g Candrapida going to see Sukanasa sat on the ground [cp का p. १८९ " चन्द्रापीड. क्षितितल एव०' and का p १९४ " आहाय रत्नासन अवनावेव समुपा०]

The clothing of men and women seems to be made up of two pieces of cloth No tailoring seems to have been in vogue The upper garment (उत्तरीय) was merely kept hanging on the body, while the lower one seems to have been tied with some knot The garments of men were generally white, those of ladies were generally coloured Ladies seem to have an अधोवसन (दुकूलवल्कल), a bodice with a knot between breasts (स्तनमध्यबन्धगाविशग्रन्थि) and an उत्तरीय worn across the body (वैकक्ष्यक) [cp ह p 34] Women seem to be using a veil occasionally (e g Candalakanya in the royal court and Rajyasri at the time of her marriage, had veils) Men used to wear turbans or some other type of head-dress Widows wore white clothes Buddhist monks red and Jain monks yellow The hair of men generally hung loose, at times it was tied in some head knot In case of women, ladies had वर्णी and widows एकवेणी Flowers and sprouts as decorations, as also gold and jewelled ornaments were used by ladies, men occasionally used some ornaments Women applied अलक्तक to their feet Sandal paste was used both by men and women Bards, Bhils, etc. had their specialised type of dress

The family life was very cordial in general And there are descriptions of many a happy household in Bana's works A mother had great affection for her children e g विलासवती's affection for चन्द्रापीड or यशोमती's affection for हर्षवर्धन But a women loved her husband more than her child The husband was the ruler of the household but generally consulted his better half in family-affairs e g प्रभाकरवर्धन consulted यशोमती before राज्यश्री's marriage Relations between a husband and wife were generally very cordial,

the influence of evil spirits (5) The birth of a male child was highly welcome that of a daughter was an occasion for sorrow (6) There was the worship of षष्ठेश्वरी on the sixth day after child-birth The father could see the new born child after this worship (7) The naming of the child was done on the tenth day [cp का p 137 'अथास्य दशमे अहनि'] (8) A boy was sent to गुरुगृह in the sixth year after ceremonials like चूडाकरण had been performed, and returned after ten to twelve years (9) ब्राह्म and गान्धर्व forms of marriage were in vogue The girls were fairly grown up at the time of marriage. (10) The hand of a grown-up girl was asked for by a suitor, and the girl's father would consent if he so liked He consulted his family members too (11) The marriage ceremony was performed on an auspicious day at an auspicious moment at the bride's house Detailed ceremonials were gone through There was considerable rejoicing & frolic The consummation of the marriage was on the same day, this would indicate that the brides were fairly grown up (12) Child marriages were not in vogue, nor widow remarriages Widows were expected to lead a secluded and religious life and occasionally they committed सती (13) The custom of self immolation or सती by ladies was occasionally practised by ladies on the death of their husbands and on rare occasions (as in the case of यशोमती) even before the death of the husband It was *supposed to be a glorious thing* Both Mahasveta and Kadambari wanted to commit अनुमरण, but were *warded off from* that by *divine agencies*, because of the would be reunion in either case Even रसायन the young and learned physicion *in waiting on* प्रभाकरवर्धन *preferred death to* informing हर्ष of the impending end of his father Widows who did not commit Sati were expected *to lead a religous life* *The* enlightered opinion of the day was of course against the institution of सती, as one can see *from* चन्द्रापीड s *arguments against that* system, in his address to महाश्वेता That passage shows that Bana himself was obviously a great social reformer and he has in that passage put a spirited argument against अनुमरण in his Kadambari He seems to be the mouthpiece of a new rationalistic view taking *shape in the mind of young elite* (14)*The rites to be performed after* death were *practically the same as obtaining at present* After the

period of impurity, the personal effects of the dead were given in charity; the bones of the dead were taken to a holy place; a cow was given occasionally to a Brahmin as a gift. In case of eminent people,the departed were often commemorated by erecting a monument or building a समाधि, or by the composition of a poetic elegy (कविहृदिक). At one place Bāṇa has described monuments to dead heroes as जनजनितवृत्तसंभारदर्शोदिवृद्धवतिनवीरपुरपातस्थान's. (15) There were some rites to be performed when a person would embark on an important journey. [cp. ह pp. ५६–५७; २०२-२०४.]

Some miscellaneous points are: (i) At times of eclipses, people fasted. [cp. ह. p. 29 "पर्वन्त... उपवासाम्".] (ii) At the time of receptions, floral arches were raised. [cp. ह.p. 51 "कस्यापि पुष्पधनः हृदयप्रवेशमार्ग कामिव ... धारयन्ती।".] (iii) On occasions of joy and festivity people, men and women, young and old, mixed freely; and enjoyed song and dance. (iv) The descripition of the rites performed when प्रभाकरवर्धन was on death-bed,though some what wierd, shows us what popular Hindu religious practices and observances were in the 7th Cent. A. D.

Sports and Amusemets :— Among social entertainments and *sports the more important were darcing, singing, animal fights and* bird-fights. [cp. K. 89 "आपद्धमेषकुक्कुटपुरस्वपिञ्जललावकयर्तिकायुद्धम्"] On the fights of animals or birds, there was an occasional resort to betting. The main sport of royalty was hunting. [cp. Kadambari pp. ५६-५९; pp. १९९–२००]. Gambling was considered as an art and pastime and *there are profuse references to it. [cp.K. p.* १५६ 'सर्वासु द्यूतकलासु' K. p. १०६ "द्यूतादिकलाकलापपारगेण....जनेन"; K.p. 131 "द्यूतकलाकुशलामिव वशीकृताक्षहृदयाम्"]. द्यूतस्थान is referred to in Harṣacarita. [cp. ह. p. 159]. Kings were expected to be proficient in gambling. [cp. K. p १८० "दुरोदरक्रीडामन्त्रस्यता.... सामन्तलोकेन"] The game of chess was also popular. [cp. for references to अष्टापद ह. p. 14, 127. ७८ (अष्टापदानां चतुरङ्गकल्पना)]. Mm. Kane thinks that a game 'caturaṅga' is referred to, corresponding to Marathi 'सोंगट्या'. Gambling, however, was not respected in society. There were also intellectual pastimes "like reciting stanzas,finding out missing words,supplying lines of stanza

etc" (अक्षरच्युतक मात्राच्युतक, बिन्दुमती, प्रहेलिका and the like) [cp का pp १८०-१८१]

City Life and the Country Life.— The typical description of the city of Ujjayini shows broadly how the city-life of Bana's days was The cities were surrounded by walls and trenches, they had suburbs, parks, rest houses drinking places and halls The people in general were fairly prosperous, fair in appearance given to various worldly pursuits, cultured and educated [cp K p 51 "शिक्षितशेषदेशभाषेण सुभाषितव्यसनिना" &c] Bana's हर्षचरित gives a description of Bana's wanderings over the whole of स्थाण्वीश्वर and beyond We find therein cross-sections of a varied society, *plying various professions and trade*

The village people were more unsophisticated, and more orthodox in religious matters Agriculture was the main profession, and rice was the *main crop* *Other crops also were numerous* e g godhūma (wheat), mudga (kidney bean), Jiraka (cumin seed), Rajamāṣa,*sugarcane, grapes and the like Coconuts pomegranates*, dates etc were also planted The land was fertile 'The device of waterwheel was widely used' Vegetables too were grown in abundance The cattlewealth consisted of cows and bulls buffalos, rams, horses, mares, camels, etc There were lakes and water reservoirs here and there One could also see scarecrows popping up [cp मृगभयकृततृणपुरुषकं —K p 234] On the whole villages had a sort of smug peaceful life and people were healthy and contented

The forest life was a harder life The foresters lived in huts and subsisted by hunting, wild produce and elementary agriculture with spades (and not ploughs) [cp "कुद्दालप्रायकृषिभि ह p २२] Some foresters used to collect honey, various types of fruits, feathers of birds etc and to sell these things in cities or villages *nearby* Their clothings was generally fashioned out of bark-garments Their goddess was Camuṇḍa or Caṇḍika and they offered 'बलि' *in her honour* [*cp Reference to* चण्डिकाबलि *offered by* foresters *at* का *p* 30]' *There are several passages where Bāṇa gives graphic description of forest life* [*cp* हर्ष *pp* २२७-३०, काद

pp. ३९ & ४२, pp २४१-४५, pp 354-5 pp ४१७-२६.] One curious reference by Bhūṣaṇa Bāṇa is to a वनमानुषी. [cp. K p. 316]

There were many hermitages in forests where hermits led a pious, holy and quiet life [For descriptions of hermitages cp. ह pp ४४-६, का pp ७९-८३] The young boys there were educated in various branches of Vedic lore Many sages lived the lives of householders in the tranquillity of these hermitages, which they liked for their quietitude and simplicity, and where penances and meditation could be pursued without obstruction The life in hermitages was generally self sufficient and self dependent, the basic amenities of life like food, water, shelter andc lothing were managed with local resources in the तपोवन.

Learning and Literature:—Education was fairly common and widespread The आश्रमs or गुरुकुलs were the seats of learning, where the young boys went to receive education. Some might have received education at home Bāṇa seems to have learnt partly at his home, known for erudite traditions, and partly at the feet of Bharvu. Candrāpīda was educated at a special विद्यामन्दिर built for his sake, where a highly qualified staff was engaged to educate the prince Candrapīda went to the विद्यामन्दिर at the age of six and returned at sixteen Tarapīda obviously beleived in a Gurukula discipline Otherwise he could have asked the Pandits to train Candrapīda at the palace only The curriculum seems to consist of Vedic lore in various branches and various other arts and sciences current in that age [K p. 75 para 71 gives a list of the literary and artistic curriculum for education of a prince while the description of the parrot विदित . मित्र on K p 12 represents the expected intellectual attainments of a well-educated person] There must have existed Gurukula type of Universities like Nalanda and Takṣaśila, as references by Bāṇa seem to indicate. [cp References to गुरुकुलs at ह p. 69 & p 159]

Learning in ordinary villages and small towns was probably connected with श्रुतिs and स्मृतिs and ritual they enjoined यज्ञविद्या, व्याकरण तर्क, मीमांसा etc were also stud ed at these places, which

also must have boasted of some learned scholars in these branches. But there were also persons interested in subjects of a secular character and connected more with art and artistic tendencies

Among the arts cultivated by people Music seems to be the most prominent ' It was almost the only art in which people of all vocations took an interest " There are words like गीतकला [cp का p ३७६] गन्धर्वशास्त्र [cp का p. १५६] गान्धर्ववेद [cp का p १२६] गीतश्रुतिस [cp का २६ ह p ८६] etc which show how *music was cultivated both as a science and an art In one* passage in Kadambari, various musical instruments are referred to [cp. "अनेकप्रहत . ध्वनि का p 16] We find technical references to सवादी and विसवादी स्वरs, [cp ह p ८६] ताल and लय, [cp. ह. p. १३१] तान and समा etc [cp ह p १३१] Among musical instruments mentioned are आलिङ्गक (a small drum), flutes, cymbals (झल्लरी), अलाबुवीणा (gourd lute), काहला (a musical instrument), पाणविक (a tabor), विपञ्चीवाद्य (a kind of lute) and मुरज.

" Dancing was usually accompanied by music and it was considered as an independent art and science. [cp K p. १५६ ह p १३१] It was practised as a profession mainly by the class of courtesans, though it was learnt and taught in respectable families " The art seems to have been learnt both by women and men. The dance was generally accompanied by a musical orchestra, and at times by vocal music The dramatic art also was known

" *Painting and sculpture also appear to be pretty commonly* pursued arts In the description of Ujjayini, picture-galleries have been mentioned Occasionally there are references to शालभञ्जिकाs or dolls or statues The existence of पुस्तकृत [cp ह. p 127] and दारुकर्मा a model maker, would also indicate the development of sculpture ' Citrakarman or painting is described as one of the arts like music to be learnt by a man who seeks to be versatile Besides these there were a number of other arts which were considered as essential for making a man versatile They are शकुनिरुतज्ञान, मन्त्रप्रयोग, तुरगवयो-

ज्ञान, पुष्पलक्षण, रतितन्त्र etc". We find in this way that the people in those days had an interest in several arts. [cp K p 196 "चन्द्रापीडो . जगाम wherein we find reference to some arts and games of that time. So also at K pp 199-200 "तानि . आसाचके" we have references to some pastimes At K p 149, 199 we have references to इन्द्रजालिकपिच्छिका At K. p 91 we have reference to गान्धिकभवन, ताम्बूलिकभवन and सङ्गीतभवन].

Bāṇa's age viz. the reign of Harṣa was an age known for a great impetus to Art and Literature But much of the literature growing was not original (cp उत्पादका न बहव: कवय: शरभा इव।— हर्ष Int v 5) Considerable plagiarism was prevalant (cp हर्ष. Int v 6) But a lot of good literature was also growing. There were different styles present in different regions (cp हर्ष. Int. v 7) The criteria for literary excellence according to Bāṇa are नव अर्थ, अग्राम्या जाति, अक्लिष्ट श्लेष, स्फुट रस and विकटाक्षरबन्ध (cp हर्ष Int v 8) Bhavabhūti, who came soon after Bāṇa had similar views (cp यत्प्रौढत्वमुदारता च वचसा यच्चार्थतो गौरवम् —M. M I.) Both prose and poetry were widely cultivated, but in Bāṇa's days गद्य was particulary popular. Bāṇa's ideas about good गद्य are reflected in the phrase, "उत्कृष्टवर्णविन्यासमिव चित्रवर्ण. श्रेणीप्रतिपद्यमानाभिनवार्थसञ्चयम्।" He refers to qualities of good कथा in का Int v 8 Importance of रस and ध्वनि was emphasized by Bāṇa [cp हर्ष Int v 8, का Int v 8, and 'मृदुकाव्यमिव अनन्यचिन्तिताभिप्रायवेदकम्—K. p १८७] Bāṇa has also referred to artificial poetic devices like वक्रोक्ति, अक्षरच्युतक, मात्राच्युतक, बिन्दुमती, प्रहेलिका, गूढचतुर्थपाद and प्रदान He refers to the following types of literature: कथा, आख्यायिका, आख्यान, नाटक, सुभाषित and काव्य There was a lot of floating literature existing in his days. In हर्षचरित [cp हर्ष pp १९८–२००], in Skandagupta's speech to Harṣa there is reference to several stories, historical or legendary. The sources of many of these stories cannot be traced, but many of these are referred to in कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र, कामन्दकीय नीतिशास्त्र and बृहत्संहिता Bāṇa has referred to many of his predecessors or their works in his introduction to Harṣacarita Bāṇa has also referred to भाषाकवि, वर्णकवि and प्राकृतकृत् amongst his contemporaries There were many Prakrits current then [cp अनेकदेशभाषा

referred to at K p १०६] The old Dravida was singing a song which was in his own vernacular [cp. reference to द्राविड़'s स्वदेशभाषानिबद्धभागीरथीभक्तिस्तोत्र K p 227] "Besides the above-mentioned literature there was tremendous growth of the technical religious and spiritual sides as well Thus we find mention of मीमांसा, Grammar, Logic, Law, Politics, Metre, Music, science of horses and elephants etc' Bana has probably referred to काशिकावृत्ति on पाणिनिसूत्रs, to वाक्यपदीय of भर्तृहरि and to न्यास, a commentary on काशिकावृत्ति etc through श्लेष at हर्षचरित pp ८६,-८७, though scholars are not agreed on this point "The scripts in different parts of the country were quite different from each other and the knowledge of those scripts was considered as essential for gaining versatility [cp K p १०६ where people in उज्जयिनी are said to be सर्वलिपिज्ञ, and K p १५७ where Candrapida is said to have attained proficiency in all scripts (सर्वलिपिषु)] Of note are (1) a reference to कविहृदितकs at ह p 300 and to manuscripts of books at ह p 378 Along with the growth of literature grew a number of other professions like लेखक (scribe), वाचक (reader), कथक (Narrator), बन्दिन् (bard) etc

Civil and Military Administration —We do not get much information about civil administration Yet we can be certain that the population was distributed between cities and villages The usual extent of a village was an area tilled by a thousand ploughs [cp ह p २०३ "सीरसहस्रसमितसीम्ना ग्रामाणाम्] The headman of a village was called अक्षपाटलिक (being in charge of अक्षपटल or the place where account books were kept) He was assisted by a number of करणिकs or accountants and clerks [cp ह p २०३ "सकलकरणिपरिकर "] The central office of the management and accounts was in the capital city, where the king personally supervised the work Clerks of the court had records about varied details apropos villages and cities The administration of justice was in the hands of अक्षपाटलिक in villages, and in the hands of judges in cities Taxes generally were low, people were prosperous and contented There were many अन्नछत्रs धर्मशालाs and प्रपाs Harsa very assiduously attended to the welfare of the state Gifts were made in land or cash to worthy persons in recognition of some notable achievement in some field of activity There was

not much litigation, though suits about robberies, offences, money-transactions etc. were occasionally there. But on the whole, "civil suits were comparatively very few and criminal even fewer still"

The whole country was divided into a number of smaller states According to Hiuen Tsang there were 72 such states [cp Vaidya pp 48-57] They were brought under one sovereignty by Harsa The important provinces mentioned by Bana are स्थाण्वीश्वर and श्रीकण्ठ, where हर्ष ruled his ancestral kingdom, the हूण country to the north on the lower slopes of हिमालय, Kanauj where ग्रहवर्मा, the husband of Rajyasri, ruled, मालव the ruler of which killed ग्रहवर्मा and inspsisored राज्यश्री,& Gauda country (central Bengal) where ruled शशाङ्क, who treacherously killed राज्यवर्धन. The provinces already brought under control by प्रभाकरवर्धन, हर्ष's father were the हूणदेश, सिन्धुदेश, गुर्जर, गान्धार, लाट and मालव The king of प्राग्ज्योतिष sought alliance with Harsa after the latter started his conquest

The different local chiefs were generally at war amongst one another, though now and then a sovereign ruler like Harsa brought a political unity to the country (viz Northern India) but after the sovereign power became weak, there would be disintegration again Harsa established his sovereignty over the Northen India after a continuous warfare for thirtyfive years as per the account of Hiuen Tsang and his only defeat came at the hands of the Calukya king Pulakesin II (cp V Smith pp 313-4)

The system of monarchy was in vogue, and a king had all powers concentrated in his hands He was supposed to have divine portions in his make-up The usual timetable of the king would be to finish early his morning constitutionals, go to the Assembly, grant interviews to persons waiting for him, discuss matters of state, then to retire to the inner apartments at the mid day conch There a king took some exercise, then bath, worship and food After food he would have betel and in a few cases a prefumed cigar (cp परिपीतधूमवर्ति –K p [illegible]) In the afternoon the king would again go to the assembly and retire once again in the evening to the inner apartments (At K p 119 "नृपे चचार

we get a good description of an ideal king's functions At K p 7 we get a description of kingly pastimes of king Sūdraka The following pastimes are enumerated (i) music (in which he used to play on the मृदङ्ग), (ii) मृगया (iii) काव्यप्रबन्धरचना (iv) शास्त्रालापा (v) आख्यानक आख्यायिका-इतिहास-पुराण-आकर्णन (vi) आलेख्य-विनोद (vii) वीणावादन (viii) मुनिजनचरणशुश्रूषा (ix) अक्षरच्युतक, मात्राच्युतक, बिन्दुमती, गूढचतुर्थपाद प्रहेलिका etc

The royal premises (राजकुल) consited of the palace the harem the assembly hall and other state offices There were seven sections (सप्तकक्षान्तराणि) beyond which was situated the royal residence There were a number of mansions pleasure parks and pleasure-mountains armouries and stables for horses and elephants within the royal premises Camels are also mentioned in Harṣacarita There were different gates at different places with doorkeepers keeping a vigilant eye on the ingress and egress of people

Hiuen Tsang mentions that there were four divisions of the army but according to C V Vaidya only three were there viz Elephants Horses and Foolsold ers Chariots were not in use in the march of armies as a branch of the army Chariots seem to be used only on ceremonial purposes on occassions Harṣa had a very large army

The state administration was run by the king with the help of a number of ministers headed by a chief minister (e g शुकनास). In Kadambari we find a reference to hereditary ministers [cp का p 7 'अनेककुलक्रमागतैं अमात्यै परिवृत] There was also a commander in-chief There was generally benevolent monarchy' as the ideal though not constitutional monarchy' of the later times

' Two ceremonies of military significance have been referred to in the Harṣacarita (1) नीराजना [cp हृष p ४७] and (2) पुष्याभिषक (cp हृष p ५८) The first is to be performed by the king before going to the battle field It consisted of waiving light in general in front of the army In particular it was performed in the case of horses at the begin ning of the शरद, season The second was

the taking of ceremonial bath by the king on पुष्यस्नान dayaccompanied by royal insignia "

In the early part of Uc. VII of the Harṣacarita, we have a very ornate description of the royal army on march, but there are many realistic touches too like the casual utterances of various persons in the march We find that peple on the way were sometimes complaining of loot and harassment, though generally they greeted the king with obeissance and presents.

The चतुःसीमाs of India are enumerated by Bāṇa in both हर्षचरित and कादम्बरी cp, " आ... उदयाचलात्, आ... सुवेलात्, आ... अस्तगिरेः, आ... गन्धमादनात् !"—हर्ष pp. 335-6 "आ सेतुबन्धात्,—आ सेतुबन्धात्,—आ मन्दराचलात्,— आ गन्धमादनात् !"—का. pp; 54-55. In one passage from हर्षचरित pp, 343-7 (प्रमाद- निर्वासम्) wherein Skandagupta advises to हर्ष, we get a number of references to old legends, many of which may be historical So also in K, p, 331 there are some persons inquired about by Vilāsavati, which persons may be historical, or may as well be non historical, specially as कादम्बरी is a कथा and not आख्यायिका.

Religions conditions.—There was complete religious tolerance in Bāṇa's days. Various rival sects lived side by side peacefully. The main rival religions of the day were Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Of these the last, particularly the दिगम्बर sect thereof, does not appear to have much popularity in northern India. The sight of a naked Jain monk was regarded as ominous (cp. अभिमुख-माजगाम शिखिपिच्छलाञ्छनो नग्नाटकः—ह. p. 254-5). The other two religions were flourishing Hindus seemed to look at Buddhism with fairness and tolerance. cp 'भगवन् सर्वं... जनेन (ह. 428 9). A person could charge his faith without much persecution दिवाकरमित्र, originally a student of मैत्रायणीय recension of यजुर्वेद accepted Buddhism while he was still young And even when he was a Buddhist, he was waited upon by followers of various schools like *the Jainas, Bhagavatas, Jainas, Pauranikas, Mimamsakas, etc. all* in quest of truth, " in the giddy whirlport of opposing doctrines". Bāṇa, himself an orthodox Brahmin writer does not gloss over the Buddhist leanings of his patron's family. But as already said above

religious tolerance was by and large the order of the day and hence Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, as also several other minor isms, though differing in cardinal philosophical doctrines to a fair extent, were amicably co-existing

And this religious tolerance in public was an echo of the religious tolerance practised by the Royal House for these were days, when राजा कालस्य कारणम was a truism Thus, while पुष्पभूति, Harṣa's remote ancestor was a devout worshipper of Siva (cp ह pp १००–१) and had a great regard for the Saiva भैरवाचार्य, प्रभाकरवर्धन, as also his two immediate predecessors were परमादित्य भक्तs प्रभाकरवर्धन every day worshipped the sun with red flowers He had celebrated many and elaborate sacrifices, showing his love of Vedic religion राज्यवर्धन, Harṣa's elder brother, was परमसौगत, and so also राज्यश्री, his sister had developed Buddhist leanings When राज्यश्री was about to commit suicide in the Vindhya forest we find her companions invoking Buddha in their distress (cp भगवन् भक्तजने सञ्चरिणि सुगत सुप्तोऽसि ह p 431) Harṣa was a परममाहेश्वर (cp the Madhuban Copperplate E I IV 67, Banskhera Copperplate E I IV 208) The Sonpat seal of Harṣa has an emblem of Nandi. Harṣa started on his expedition after worshipping Siva (विरचय्य परमया भक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्यार्चाम् ह p 350) The head accountant of the village where Harṣa encamped on the first day presented him with a golden seal with the crest of a bull Harṣa, though thus very much devoted to Siva, and also to his family deisy Āditya, was definitely inclined to Buddhism and has expressed his intention to don the red robes of Buddhism with his sister, after completing his avowed task of conquest (cp इय तु ग्रहीष्यति मयैव सम समाप्तकृत्येन कषायाणि—H p 450) But Harṣa was impartial in his liberality and at his quinquennial assemblies, wealth was distibuted to followers of all religious denominations of the day But the royal interest in Buddhism in Harṣa s days had made that religion an attraction for some learned Brahmins even to espouse (cp ह pp 408 9 'श्रूयते जनमिति' giving some information about दिवाकरमित्र) All this data show that between Brahmin and Buddhist or between devotee of one deity or another, there did not exist any wide gulf as a

person brought up in different environment may feel as existing. "There were certain root-ideas, certain habits of thoughts and modes of life which were common to all " Hiuen Tsang dwells at great length on the condition of religion in the times of हर्ष He mentions that towards the end of his career Harsa became a very devout Buddhist and once in every five years he held a great assembly on the sand of the river when he emptied his treasury to give away all in charity to the needy (B R W. W. Vol I pp, 214-5) We hope that the student of हर्षचरित will not fail to read the curious incidents and anecdetes that the Chinese traveller relates concerning Harsa.

The main national religion of Bana's days, however, was the Hindu or Brahmanic religion And Bana's works show how it was prospering well and how it was based on its वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्था. Bana was naturally very proud of the Brahmanic religion himself, and he has shown his full acquaintance with both of its sacramental and popular aspects, as has been shown in this book at various places, in discussions about the society of the day, about Bana's learning or about Bana's religion But Bana shows also a fair acquaintance with almost all the other faiths in the field, prominent among which were Buddhism, Jainism and S'aivism

Bana has referred to both the दिगम्बरs (or आर्हतs) and श्वताम्बरs (or श्वेतपट्टs) The केशलुञ्चनs are separately mentioned, but we wonder whether they were a separate sect of Jainas as Dr Potdar believes The Digambaras were not much respected as noted elsewhere We have a reference to मयूरपिच्छवाहि क्षपणकs at K. p 31 The भूतदया aspect of Jainism was admired cp " जिनधर्मेणेव जीवानुकम्पिना '—K p 106 Queenविलासवतीapproaches a सिद्धादेश नग्नक्षपणक to get a boon for पुत्रप्राप्ति, though these naked monks were generally abhorred A monk's uncleanliness was looked at with disgust and contempt

Buddha has beeh mentioned as a deity अवलोकितेश्वर, a बोधिसत्त्व, has been referred to (cp ह p ७२, २३७) Buddhists seem to be worshipping some deities of theirs Bana refers to Buddha as Jina, and mentions the three resorts of Buddhism The Buddhist Jatakas and the famous कोश of वसुबन्धु seem to be widely

read and recognized books of Buddhism Brahmin writers criticised Buddhist philosophy severely, but respected the personality of Buddha Perhaps there was a sect of Buddhists who wore white garments instead of red (cp ह. p २१६ 'पाण्डुरिभिक्षुभि।')

Siva followers were numerous e g Harsa, Bana, Sarasvati, Mahas'veta, S'ūdraka, Puspabhūti Bhairavācarya are all S'iva devotees. *S'iva temples abounded, Candikā worship seems to be popular in* Āndhra Bhairavācarya's description is typical of a शैव साधक (cp. H. pp १०३–४) A S'aiva text महाकालमत seems to be referred *to at K p ४२१. We have description of a Candika temple at K* pp ४१७–२६, and of महानवमीमह a festival in honour of Candikā at ह. p २३२.

"The class of ascetics and mendicants had largely increased on account of the growth of various minor sects Some of them were respected even in the royal palace, Kings were generally generous and religious by nature and hence they always welcomed the visit of such people. Thus it is described that asceties of all sects, Buddha, Ārhata, Pas'upata, Brahmacārin, were to be come across in the palace of Harsa (p ६०) In the mansion of शुकनास too a similar gathering is referred to (K. p १९३)" Asceticism was not restricted to men only, nuns were also quite common "Besides these religious sects, the old Āryan religion of sacrifices was also in vogue to some extent" Bāna is proud to have come from a family which was continuously observing the tradition of sacrifice

The Ramayana, the Mahabharatā and the Purānas had attained *a position of holiness and recitations of these texts in public* temples and private households seems to to popular Mahabharata, Ramayana and Purānas are many times alluded to by Bana The reader सुदृष्टि is said to have entertained Bana to a recitation of वायुपुराण, पौराणिक्s are said to have surrounded the bereaved Harsa to console him when his father died The महाभारत was very popular specially amongst women Queen Vilasavati in Kadambarī heard the recitation of Mahabharata Bana's reference *to Puranas and Pauranikas shows how western scholars are wrong* in assigning a very late date to the Puranas

Idolatry was quite common In Kādambarī we get a fine description of the temple of the Mahākāla of Ujjayinī and of Śiva with four heads. We get descriptions of Caṇḍikā's temples in both of Bāṇa's works We find also a reference to Gaṇapati with one tusk. So also we get references to worship of Brahmā and Kārtikeya, both of whom do not receive much worship these days. Āditya and many other deities were also worshipped.

There were temples of various deities and many had royal grants to support them. धर्मशालाs, प्रपाs, स्तूपs and स्तम्भs were there all over the country.

Beliefs and Superstitions —Social beliefs and superstitions always make an interesting reading, and show how we have not much changed through centuries in these matters

Belief in omens was common and widespread in Bāṇa's days. Some of the ill-omens are : throbbing of left eye of men and right eye of women; general tremor of body and gloominess of disposition, the movements and cries of certain birds and animals (e g. going of deer on one's left, the long and wierd cry of a crow, howling of female jackals etc) "Various phenomena in the atmosphere and on earth are understood as indicative of evil omen. The shower of dust, earth-quake, appearance of comets, redness of sky, stormy wind etc. are described as portending evil. The sight of certain persons was considered as inauspicious Thus हर्ष sees, coming in front of him, a naked Jaina ascetic indicative of future evil. The sights of मस्करिन्s under anxious circumstances was also considered as indicative of calamity"

Divine favour was sought in times of distress Various deities were propitiated Worship and sacred recitals were resorted to

Some auspicious things were a pitcher full of water, fire with flames rising प्रदक्षिण etc

Belief in astrology, palmistry and physiological marks was current Dreams, particularly at early dawn were believed to be indicative of some coming events Observance of vows and व्रतs was current. (e g विलासवती's observances for पुत्रप्राप्ति at K pp 64-65, also compare Parvati's vows for attaining Lord Śiva as

her husband cp पार्वतीपरिणय pp 25-7) At times even magic remedies were tried e g. The जरद्, द्रविड used स्त्रीवशीकरणचूर्ण (cp. K. p 227 गृहीत चूर्णेन)

Philosophy and Ethics :—Bāṇa seems to be philosophically a believer in 'Unity in Trinity' (cp का Intr v. 1), a Vedantin (though not a मायावादिन् of the शाङ्कर view), and at the same time a special devotee of god S'iva (see ह Intr v 1, का Intr.v 1 पार्वती॰ v. 1 and also the section on Bāṇa's religion elsewhere in this book) An associate of Harṣa as he was he knew Buddhist philosophy well and knew both the earlier and later schools of Buddism viz सर्वास्तित्ववाद and शून्यवाद (cp बौद्धनेव सर्वास्तित्ववादशूरेण—का p १०६ and बौद्धबुद्धिमिव निरालम्बनाम्—p २६५). For Bāṇa's regard for Buddhism cp "भगवन् . वचसाम्—ह. pp 428-9 and "मम. आरोपयिष्यति"—ह p 430

The philosophy of मीमासा had a great hold on people then, and Bāṇa has referred to terms like अधिकरण (cp वाक्याविदामधिकरण॰—ह p ७९) and भावना (मीमासया इव भावना—का p २६४). Bāṇa has referred with pride to his family traditions of learning. Bāṇa has also mentioned वैशेषिकs, साङ्ख्यs, पाशुपतs, भागवतs, ईश्वरकारणिकs, मस्करिन्s, ब्रह्मचारिन्s, पौराणिकs, धर्मशास्त्रिन्s, वैयाकरणs, कारन्धमिन्s (Alchemists), पाञ्चरात्रs, वेदान्तिन्s, मीमासकs, the followers of the systems of न्याय (or ईश्वरकारणs), वैशेषिक (or काणादs), साङ्ख्य (or कपिलs), वेदान्त (or औपनिषदs), मीमासा (or सप्ततन्तुs). There were also aethists (cp "लोकायतिक अधर्मरुचि... K P. 150). For reference to different philosophers and philosophies cp H p. 413' वीतरागै—p 414 आवेद्यमानम्". Also cp K p 208 where we get reference to पाशुपतपरिव्राजिकs, रक्तपटव्रतवाहिनीs, श्वेतपटव्यञ्जनाs, other तापसीs, and also to deities like त्र्यम्बक, अम्बिका,कार्तिकेय, विष्टरश्रवस्, जिन, आर्य विलोकितेश्वर, अर्हत, विरिञ्चि, नारद-दुहितृ (?) At K p 95 S'ukanāsa is waited upon (by) 'शाक्यद्विजैश्च".

Belief in transmigration was deeprooted

Bāṇa seems to believe in the social order based on चातुर्वर्ण्य existing in his time His ideal village is असङ्कीर्णवर्णव्यवहारस्थिति Asceticism was respected and Karma doctrine has brought a

fatalistic approach at large. Moral responsibility was emphasized and so was duty Bana's reformist leanings are seen in his spirited arguments against सती Bana has given some practical advice e. g in शुकनासोपदेश or कपिञ्जल's address to पुण्डरीक

[In this chapter, the author is specially indebted to Dr Potdar's work unspecified quotations in this chapter are from him, those page references that are printed in Devanagari figures in this chapter are from N s Edns]

CHAPTER IX

KATHĀ & ĀKHYĀYIKĀ

"The distinction between Ākhyayikā and Kathā is presented to us in a puzzling confusion in the writers on poetics, explaining and justifying in large measure the refusal of Daṇḍin in his Kavyādarśa to have anything to do with the distinction."

—Keith Classical Sk. Lit p 172.

Ancient Sanskrit Rhetoricians have divided Sanskrit Kāvya in three broad-though by no means scientific-divisions viz गद्य, पद्य and मिश्र The गद्य is generally divided into कथा and आख्यायिका. Kātyayana is the first author to mention 'आख्यायिका' specifically, Patañjali gives three illustrations of आख्यायिकाs (viz वासवदत्ता. सुमनोत्तरा & भैमरथी) while commenting on Kātyayana's vartika. Agnipurāṇa deals with the nature of कथा and आख्यायिका as follows - 'कर्तृवंशप्रशसा स्याद्यत्र गद्येन विस्तरात्। कन्याहरणसग्रामविप्रलम्भविपत्तय ॥ भवन्ति यत्र दीप्ताश्च रीतिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तय । उच्छ्वासैश्च परिच्छेदो यत्र सा चूर्णिकोत्तरा॥ वक्त्र चापरवक्त्र वा यत्र सा ऽऽख्यायिका मता ॥ श्लोकै· स्ववश सक्षेपात्कविर्यत्र प्रशसति । मुख्यार्थस्यावताराय भवेद्यत्र कथान्तरम् ॥ परिच्छेदो न यत्र स्याद्भवेद्वा लम्बकै क्वचित् । सा कथा.. ॥ (Adh 337, ś 113-17). Actually Agnipurāṇa gives five varieties of गद्यकाव्य viz आख्यायिका, कथा, खण्डकथा, परिकथा and कथानिका But the last three are only minor sub-varieties of कथा.

Bhamaha defines कथा and आख्यायिका almost similarly:— ' प्रकृतानाकुलश्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना । गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाऽऽख्यायिका मता ॥ वृत्तमाख्यायते तस्या नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम् । वक्त्र चापरवक्त्र च काले भाव्यर्थशसि च ॥ कवेरभिप्रायकृतैरङ्कनै (v. l कथनै) कैश्चिदङ्किता । कन्याहरणसग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता । न वक्त्रापरवक्त्राभ्या युक्ता नोच्छ्वासवत्यपि ॥ सस्कृत सस्कृता चेष्टा कथाऽपभ्रशभाक्तथा । अन्यै स्वचरित तस्या नायकेन तु नोच्यते । स्वगुणाविष्कृति कुर्यादभिजात कथ जन ॥ (I. 25–29).

"Putting together the characterstics of these two classes of prose works as given by the Agnipurāṇa and Bhamaha, an ancient rhetorician, we gather that (1) in an आख्यायिका there is a detailed

eulogy of the poet's family in prose, while in a कथा the poet briefly praises his family in verse (2) In an आख्यायिका such topics as the kidnapping of a girl, battles separation of the hero are described, in a कथा it is not so (3) In an आख्यायिका it is the hero who relates his own deeds, in a Katha the story is told by others and not by the hero (4) An आख्यायिका is divided into sections called उच्छ्वास and contains stanzas in the वक्त्र and the अपरवक्त्र metres, which are suggestive of future events a कथा may not be divided into sections and if it is, they are called लम्बक (5) an आख्यायिका is distinguished by the possession of certain catchwords which the poet ingeniously puts in, in a कथा it is not so"

With slight variations* Dandin in his Kavyadarsa notes these characteristics of the Katha and the Ākhyayika, criticises the two fold distinctions of Gadya, shows that the characteristics mentioned are not exclusive, nor have writers followed these uniformly, and comes to the conclusion that both the Kathā and Ākhyayika are but two names of the same species of prose composition (cp काव्यादर्श I 23 30 " गद्यमाख्यायिका कथा ।

*The distinctions between कथा and आख्यायिका given by Kane, after Dandin are as follows — "(1) In an आख्यायिका it is the hero himself who tells the whole story, while in कथा the story is told either by the hero or by some one else (2) An आख्यायिका is divided into sections named उच्छ्वास and contains verses in the वक्त्र and अपरवक्त्र metres while in a कथा it is not so (3) In a कथा such topics as the kidnapping of a girl, battles, separation, the rise of the sun and the moon are described, in an Ākhyayika it is not so (4) A Katha is distinguished by possessing certain catchwords which the author intentionally puts in' We shall find that there is some difference in these items and the points given by us after अग्निपुराण ann भामह But about points 3 and 4 from Mm Kane's summary from Dandin, we *wonder whether Mm. Kane has not erred in summarising* Prin Karmarkar makes the following additional points after Dandin (1) A कथा uses the आर्या (2) Also a कथा is written either in Sanskrit or in Prakrit (cp कथा हि सर्वभाषाभि संस्कृतेन च बध्यते। भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां बृहत्कथाम् ॥—काव्यादर्श I

इति तस्य प्रभेदौ द्वौ तयोराख्यायिका किल ॥ नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा। स्वगुणाविष्क्रियादोषो नात्र भूतार्थशंसिन ॥ अपि त्वनियमो दृष्टस्तत्राप्यन्यैरुदीरणात। अन्यो वक्ता स्वयं वेति कीदृग्वा भेदलक्षणम् ॥ वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च सोच्छ्वासत्वं च भेदकम। चिन्हमाख्यायिकायाश्चेत, प्रसङ्गेन कथास्वपि। आर्यादिवत्प्रवेश किं न वा वक्त्रापवक्त्रयो। भेदश्च दृष्टो लम्भादिरुच्छ्वासो वास्तु किं तत ॥ तत्कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जाति संज्ञाद्वयाङ्किता। अत्रैवान्तर्भविष्यन्ति शेषाश्चाख्यानजातय ॥ कन्याहरणसंग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयादय। सर्गबन्धसमा एव नैते वैशेषिका गुणा ॥ कविभावकृत चिन्हमन्यत्रापि न दुष्यति। मुखमिष्टार्थसंसिद्धचै किं हि न स्यात्कृतात्मनाम् ॥). Dandin's opinion is of a very great significance Because firstly he was himself a famous गद्यकवि. And secondly he must have had before him many more examples of कथाs and आख्यायिकाs than we have and must have found that there are not sufficient distinctions between the two varieties His Daśakumaracarita agrees strictly with neither of the stereotyped difinitions of कथा and आख्यायिका.

But in spite of Dandin's criticism, the orthodox division was accepted in succeeding centuries by rhetoricians like Rudrata, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and others, though they too do not agree fully as regards the details of these two varieties Bana has referred to these two classes of literature amongst others He has paid a compliment in his Harsacarita to previous आख्यायिकाकारs. Bana has mentioned as peculiarities of आख्यायिका two factors viz division into उच्छ्वासs and the occurrence of वक्त्रmetre. He himself calls Harsacarita an आख्यायिका So also he calls कादम्बरी as a कथा. The author of अलङ्कारसंग्रह added a new distinction viz that आख्यायिका shall be based on historical facts and कथा on a fictitious plot (गद्यं तु कथितं द्वेधा कथेत्याख्यायिकेति च। कथा कल्पितवृत्तान्ता, सत्यार्थाख्यायिका मता ॥) Amarakośa too defines कथा and आख्यायिका as 'आख्यायिकोपलब्धार्था' (historical narrative), 'प्रबन्धकल्पना कथा' (romantic narrative) According to this criterion Daśa is a Kathā This new principle seems to be added after Bana's works were known Rudrata in his Kavyalamkara has defined the Kathā and Ākhāyikā (cp काव्यालङ्कार – 16 20 30) forming his definitions apparently on the models of the Kadambari and the Harsacarita, the two standard specimens of these kinds of prose

compositions Ānandarvardhana refers to Katha and Ākhyayika in his Dhvanyaloka when he lays down certain restrictions on the use of long compounds He says that long compounds should not occur in depiction of pathos and the love of separated lovers cp आख्यायिकायां तु भूम्ना मध्यमसमासदीर्घसमासे एव सङ्घटने। गद्यस्य विकटबन्धाश्रयेण छायावत्त्वात्। तत्र च तस्य प्रकृष्यमाणत्वात्। कथायां तु विकटबन्धप्राचुर्येऽपि गद्यस्य रसबन्धोक्तमौचित्यमनुसर्तव्यम्। गद्यबन्धेऽपि अतिदीर्घसमासरचना न विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारकरुणयोराख्यायिकायामपि शोभते।" (cp Dhvanyaloka Nirnayasagara edn pp 143-144) (Earlier Dandin had recognised profusion of compounds as the very life of prose: ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम्।— Kavya I 80) Abhinavagupta distinguishes between these two classes of compositions by saying that while the Akhyavika is possessed of sections called उच्छ्वास and of stanzas in वक्त्र and अपरवक्त्र metres, the Katha is free from such characteristics (cp "आख्यायिकोच्छ्वासादिना वक्त्रापरवक्त्रादिना च युक्ता। कथा तद्विरहिता।" लोचन p 14) Vidyanatha in his प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण (cp 96 B S S) characterises the Ākhyayika in similar fashion

The most modern definitions of the Katha and Ākhyayika are those given by Visvanatha (15th cent A D) in his Sahityadarpana VI His definitions echo the earlier ones According to him a Katha contains a fine plot in prose with here and there a stray stanza in the आर्या, वक्त्र or अपरवक्त्र metres, in the beginning there is a salutation in verse and a mention is made of the conduct of the wicked etc An Ākhyayika is similar to a Katha but in it we have in addition an account of the poet's family and sometimes of other poets The divisions of the narrative are styled as आश्वास (which word curiously is never in vogue!), which contain in the beginning stanzas in the आर्या, वक्त्र and अपरवक्त्र metres that are suggestive of future events" For Visvanatha's definition cp "कथायां सरसं वस्तु गद्यैरेव विनिर्मितम्। क्वचिदत्र भवेदार्या क्वचिद्वक्त्रापवक्त्रके॥ आदौ पद्यैर्नमस्कारः खलादेर्वृत्तकीर्तनम्। आख्यायिका कथावत्स्यात्कवेर्वंशानुकीर्तनम्। अस्यामन्यकवीनां च वृत्तं पद्यं क्वचित्क्वचित्॥ कथांशानां व्यवच्छेद आश्वास इति बध्यते। आर्यावक्त्रापवक्त्राणां छन्दसा येन केनचित्। अन्यापदेशेनाश्वासमुखे भाव्यर्थसूचनम्॥" —साहित्यदर्पण VI

CHAPTER X

(A) The Sanskrit Prose Romance

"If as I have been accustomed in these lectures to say, 'Poetry is the expression, in beautiful form and melodious language, of the best thoughts and noblest emotions, which the spectacle of life awakens in the finest souls', it is clear that this may be effected by prose as truely as by verse, if only the language be rhythmical and beautiful"

— **Prof Shairp · 'Aspects of Poetry'**

In Sanskrit Literature verse has always been the more popular vehicle of expression than prose † All the same Sanskrit Prose contains a vast amount of *Literature* Sanskrit narrative prose begins in the brahmanical legends in the Yajurveda and the various Brahmanas Its tradition continued through the prose portions of Mahabharata This early narrative prose was essentially simple and colloquial The current of narrative Sanskrit Prose gradually then branched in two main streams (i) The Fable literature and (ii) The Sanskrit Prose Romance, with which we are directly concerned here

†Sanskrit Sahityasastra has never equated Kavya style with verse-form Poetry may be written in prose, in verse or in a mixture of the two *From the earliest times Sanskrit Rhetoricians* have drawn a clear distinction between the essential and the non-essential or variable atributes of poetry, and the literary form of expression has been made variable Sanskrit Kavya is divided into (i) दृश्य & श्रव्य or (ii) गद्य, पद्य & मिश्र Of these latter, Prose is represented in Sanskrit Literature by *comparatively few* works Sanskrit Liteature is extremely poor in prose, and it has about half a dozen good works in this branch They are दशकुमारचरित, हर्षचरित, कादम्बरी, वासवदत्ता, तिलकमञ्जरी, गद्यचिन्तामणि and वीरनारायणचरित Besides these Bana mentions a गद्यबन्ध by भट्टारहरिचन्द्र and धनपाल in his तिलकमञ्जरी (Intro st 23, 36) mentions तरङ्गवती and त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी [Prose was mainly used as a vehicle for bhasyas and such works

When we speak of Sanskrit Prose Romance, we immediatly think of the '*famous four*' viz (i) *Dasakumaracarita* of Dandin (ii) *Vasavadatta* of Subandhu, (iii) *Harsacarita* and (iv) *Kadambari*, both of Banabhatta But obviously they had their predecessors, though their works have not come down to us The narrative literature started from the fountainhead of the Vedic legends, the two national Epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Brhatkatha and the Puranas Though the कथाs and आख्यायिकाs in the technical sense are products of a later age, आख्यानs, आख्यायिकाs, इतिहासs etc. have been referred to by early authors

It would be worthwhile to survey such earlier references to these literary types, because they would show how the narrative literature in Sanskrit was unfolding itself and how the forms कथा and आख्यायिका emerged out in due course The earleist author to refer to आख्यानs, आख्यायिकाs, इतिहासs and पुराणs is कात्यायन (cp his वार्तिक 'लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम्' on 'अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे'—पा ४, ३, ८७, and the वार्तिक 'आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च' on पा ४, २, ६०) Patanjali, while commenting on the abovementioned वार्तिक 'लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम्' gives the names of three आख्यायिकाs (i) वासवदत्ता (not Subandhu s obviously) (ii) सुमनोत्तरा and (iii) भैमरथी† cp 'अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे' बहुल लुग्वक्तव्य । वासवदत्ता सुमनोत्तरा च । न च भवति । भैमरथी ।) At another place पतञ्जलि speaks of one who knows or studies the आख्यायिकाs, वासवदत्ता or सुमनोत्तरा cp- वासवदत्तिक, सामनोत्तरिक । Kielhorn s edn of महाभाष्य Vol II p 284 Gunadhya's बृहत्कथा was a very eminent work in पैशाची, and it is a source of much of later narrative and fable literature Jalhana refers to चारुमती of वररुचि and शूद्रककथा of रामिलसौमिल धनपाल refers to तरङ्गवती by पादलिप्त Bana has himself referred to भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्ध Dandin (6th cent A D) refers to the distinction between कथा and आख्यायिका, discusses it and finally disapproves of it as being hypercritical as both are different names for the same class of composition (cp Kavyadarsa I 23-30) Dandin further says that an आख्यायिका should exhibit a profusion of

†We do not know what kinds of works these वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा and भैमरथी are, for up till now their names only are known

compounds (cp तद्गुरुणा लघुना च बाहुल्याल्पत्वमिश्रणैः । उच्चावचप्रकारं तद् दृश्यमाख्यायिकादिषु ॥—काव्यादर्श I 81). Subandhu seems to indicate literary prose current in his days which has had some particular poetic canons to observe cp 'सत्कविकाव्यबन्ध इवावद्धतु-हिन —वासवदत्ता p 134 (Hall)' (wherein he votes against the use of padding words like तु, हि etc), and 'दीर्घोच्छ्वासरचनाकुलं सुश्लेष-वक्त्रघटनापटु सत्काव्यविरचनमिव—वासवदत्ता p 184 (Hall)' (where he refers to the division of a work in उच्छ्वासः and the use of श्लेष and verses in वक्त्र metre, and where he seems to have the आख्यायिका type in mind) Bana often alludes to the two classes of composition viz कथा and आख्यायिका among others cp 'काव्यनाटकाख्यानाख्यायिकालेख्यव्याख्यानादिक्रियानिपुणैः '– para 4 of कादम्बरी 'कथासु नाटकेषु आख्यायिकासु काव्येषु '–para 71 of कादम्बरी; 'उच्छ्वासान्तेऽप्यखिन्नास्ते येषां वक्त्रे सरस्वती । कथमाख्यायिकाकारा न ते वन्द्याः कवीश्वराः ॥" (हर्षचरित Intro v 10 wherein he pays a tribute to the आख्यायिकाकारs preceding him and refers to two peculiarities of the आख्यायिका type viz उच्छ्वासः and वक्त्र metre verses), 'करोम्याख्यायिकाम्भोधौ जिह्वाप्लवनचापलम् । (हर्ष० Intro v 19 wherein he clearly calls his हर्षचरित as आख्यायिका); In कादम्बरी पूर्वभाग Intro vv 8, 9 and 20 clearly indicate that कादम्बरी was intended as a कथा, verse 20 of these specifically says so. (द्विजेन तेन . निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा) Thus when Bana wrote one आख्यायिका and one कथा, he was not striking a new path, but he had a certain amount of such literature before him, and critics were already laying down canons governing these two types.

Just as we have discussed the development of Sanskrit Prose Romance in pre Bana days just now, it would be interesting to see how far the literary ornate prose style which finds mature expression in Bana's works had developed in pre-Bana centuries, and how the simple prose of the Epic or pre-classical period got its richness of poetic sentiments, devices and figures And in this survey, we feel it an honour to find the way, under the guiding light shed by that doyen of alamkarikas Mm. P. V Kane, who informs how some scholars believe that Bana wrote before "Sanskrit rhetoricians had done their best to degrade the sublime art of poetry to a pedantic enunciation of set similes and metaphors".

(Vide Dr Peterson's Introduction p 43) Mm Kane has shown how this contention is to a great extent fallacious For we can easily demonstrate that long before Bāṇa the science of Rhetoric had made great progress Here are some important land marks therein — (i) In an inscription of रुद्रदामन् (150 A D) [Archaeological survey, Western India vol II (about Kathiawad) p 128] we find prose which contains long compounds, alliterations (अनुप्रासs) and other figures In this very inscription, we find a reference to some fundamental literary norms in the phrase "स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालङ्कृतगद्यपद्य" (prose and poetry, ornate, and decorated by poetic conventions and perspicuous, short, sweet, striking and charming words) (ii) In an inscription of समुद्रगुप्त (4th cent A D) (Dr Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol III p 9) we have a prose that almost vies with that of Bāṇa cp 'कृपणदीनानाथातुरजनोद्धरणमन्त्रदीक्षाद्युपगतमनसः समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोकानुग्रहस्य धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमस्य स्वभुजबलविजितानेकनरपतिविभवप्रत्यर्पणनित्यव्यापृतायुक्तपुरुषस्य निशितविदग्धमतिगान्धर्वललितैर्व्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बुरुनारदादेर्विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेककाव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य' &c (iii) The Mandasor inscription of 437 A D. composed by वत्सभट्टि shows the poet's attempt to rival in diction and imagery with great masters of classical Sanskrit like Kalidasa and Bhavbhuti specially the former cp 'चलत्पताकान्यबलासनाथान्यत्यर्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि। तडिल्लताचित्रसिताभ्रकूटतुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत्र ॥' or 'रामासनाथभवनोदरभास्करांशुवह्निप्रतापसुभगे जललीनमीने। चन्द्रांशुहर्म्यतलचन्दनतालवृन्तहारोपभोगरहिते हिमदग्धपद्मे ॥'' or "चतुःसमुद्रान्तविलोलमेखलां सुमेरुकैलासबृहत्पयोधराम्। वनान्तवान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनीं कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति ॥ or 'स्मरवशगतरुणजनवल्लभाङ्गनाविपुलकान्तपीनोरुस्तनजघनालिङ्गननिर्भर्त्सिततुहिनहिमपाते ॥" (This last verse, an आर्या, contains one single compound) (iv) Bharavi (circa 550 A D) has devoted one entire canto XV of his Kiratarjuniya to attempt various शब्दालङ्कारs चित्रबन्धs, variety of meanings etc (v) Dandin in the 6th Cent A D gives a fairly detailed treatment of rhetoric, and clearly says that he is working on the ground laid down by the पूर्वाचार्यs cp 'किन्तु बीजं विकल्पानां पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रकल्पितम्। तदेव परिसंस्कर्तुमयमस्मत्परिश्रमः ॥' — काव्यादर्श II 2.

It was *Dandin* who asserted " ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।" —काव्यादर्श I 80 And later writers have generally followed his dictum (vi) Bhatti who comes from the 6th or 7th Cent A. D has devoted four सर्गs of his भट्टिकाव्य for illustrating subjects of rhetorical nature, and has exemplified more than thirty figures of speech (vii) In सुबन्धुs वासवदत्ता we meet a number of allusions to Rhetoric Subandhu has boasted of प्रत्यक्षरश्लेष — cp " सरस्वतीदत्तवरप्रसादश्चक्रे सुबन्धुः सुजनैकबन्धुः । प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रबन्धविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिर्निबन्धम् ॥". He also refers to श्लेष, उपमा, उत्प्रेक्षा and आक्षेप cp "श्लेषसंलापचतुरो वर्णयन्नपि उत्प्रेक्षाक्षेपो काव्यालङ्कारेव "— वासवदत्ता p 126 (Hall) (viii) Bana has mentioned the figures of speech जाति (= स्वभावोक्ति), उत्प्रेक्षा and श्लेष in the introductory verses to हर्षचरित, and the figures दीपक, उपमा, श्लेष and जाति in the introductory verses to Kadambari. *Thus Bana was preceded by considerable development of Rhetoric*, and there had developed already a literary prose having the usual stylistic features of literary prose like श्लिष्ट words alliterations, epithets and compounds Also compare the remarks of Prof. A A Macdonell in his History of Sanskrit Literature (p 321): " Besides the epigraphic evidence of the Gupta period, we have two important literary prose inscriptions of considerable length, one from Girnar and the other from Nasik, both belonging to the 2nd century A D They show that even then there existed a prose Kavya style, which in general character and in many details resembled that of the classical tales and romances. For they not only employ long and frequent compounds but also the ornaments of alliteration and various kinds of simile and metaphor, their use of poetical figures is however, much less frequent and elaborate, occasionally not going beyond the simplicity of the popular epic " Rhetoricians right from early days have drawn and discussed the distinction between कथा and आख्यायिका as we have seen in Chap IX All this evidence goes to show that Sanskrit Prose Romance had a tradition of its own It might not have been stereotyped in early days. Probably then these works must have been more narrative than descriptive and must have dealt with popular Epic figures or legendary figures like an Udayana or a

Vikrama. The inscriptional literature also suggests a gradual growth of Sanskrit Prose style

But when we come so the '*famous four*', we find a considerable ornateness of style Vigour of style and long compounds become now *the sine qua non of Sanskrit* Prose Romance cp ओज समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् । Description gets the upper hand with narrative naturally going in the background The thread of the narrative is generally slender and halting and it is almost suffocated under long descriptions full of compounds, puns, literary tricks, various alamkāras and the like All the same charming *descriptions, poetical thoughts, pithy sayings and gracefully simple* prose passages are found interspersed in those elaborate compositions

Dandin's Daśakumaracarita or 'the narrative of ten Kumaras' *is the simplest of the four great Romances in its style and is a* very popular work The story centres round Prince Rajavahana and his nine associates, who meet after a separation in Ujjayini and relate the accounts of experiences of each in their sojourns. The work is known as a 'dhurtakhyana' The various experiences of the prince and the ministers' sons run the entire gamut of life, from princes to paupers, from pativratas to prostitutes, and they present a picture of society, which is very live, though full of the *wondrous and the supernatural too!* *Dandin's style is on the* whole Vaidarbhi *His 'padalalitya' is famous* His skill as a narrative author is considerable and he creates subtle humour of character and situation He uses Śleṣa freely but is never pedantic about it His style is graceful, simple and vigorous

The Vasavadatta of Subandhu narrates the story of a maiden Vasavadatta (who is different for the Vasavadatta of the Udayana legend) Subadhu is a specialist in Vakrokti and sleṣa He calls himself 'प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रबन्धविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधि' The framework of the story is slender and the gorgeous discription in its manifold elaboration is everything The maiden's beauty, the hero's heroism and the charming description of the spring the forest and the mountain are very vividly painted The interest of the story is almost lost in its artificiality of style which often becomes wearisome and puzzling to the reader It is written in perfect Gaudi

(B) The Historical Kavya

" लटवापते सङ्कुचित यगा यन यत्कीर्तिपात्र रघुराजपुत्र ।
स सर्व एवादिकव प्रभाव न कोपनीया कवय क्षितीन्द्रै ॥

—बिह्लणस्य

It is an ageold complaint that Indians as a whole have lacked historical consciousness in their early literature And naturally enough Historical Kavya in Sanskrit is represented by just a few works the most outstanding being Kalhana s राजतरङ्गिणी Because of the general lack of historical perspective we have the odd experience of eking out little bits of historical facts from the phenominally voluminous Sanskrit literature In the long vista of Sanskrit (and also Prakrit) literature the following have some historical significance (1) Stray Vedic references to historical matters (2) Epics and पुराण› (3) The Various अनुक्रमणीः of the वेदs (4) The different scattered piecemeal data available in different classical Sanskrit works (5) Buddhistic and Jain works (which unfortunately lack as much historical sense as their Hindu counterparts) (6 The Indian inscriptions are the most valuable and most important branch of Indian historical literature

Now we shall deal with the more important of the Historical Kavyas —

(1) **The Harsacarita of Banabhatta** —see above Chap V

(2) **The Gaudavaho of Vakpatiraja** —This Prakrit work of early 8th cent A D has a lot of historical bearing and throws much light on the society of the day

(3) **The नवसाहसाङ्कचरित of पद्मगुप्त (or परिमल) (1005 A D)** —This is a poetic work of 18 cantos which has for its theme the history of king नवसाहसाङ्क of Malwa and his winning of Princess Sasiprabha The author of this historical काव्य was a protege of the kings of Dhraa Vakpatiraja and Sindhuraja who inspired him to compose it

(4 5) **The drama कर्णसुन्दरी and the historical काव्य विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरित** —Bilhana (11th cent A D) has two works of historical significance (i) the semi historical drama Karnasundari and (ii) The famous historical Kavya Vikramankadevacarita In कर्णसुन्दरी he describes the marriage of a Calukya prince with a Vidyadhara

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It is an ageold complaint that Indians as a whole have lacked historical consciousness in their early literature And naturally enough Historical Kavya in Sanskrit is represented by just a few works, the most outstanding being Kalhaṇa's राजतरङ्गिणी. Because of the general lack of historical perspective, we have the odd experience of eking out little bits of historical facts from the phenominally voluminous Sanskrit literature In the long vista of Sanskrit (and also Prakrit) literature the following have some historical significance (1) Stray Vedic references to historical matters (2) Epics and पुराण, (3) The Various अनुक्रमणी of the वेद (4) The different scattered piecemeal data available in different classical Sanskrit works (5) Buddhistic and Jain works (which unfortunately lack as much historical sense as their Hindu counterparts) (6) The Indian inscriptions are the most valuable and most important branch of Indian historical literature

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into royal favour and he has written a Kāvya named जयसिंहाभ्युदय in honour of that king But his fame rests mainly and appropriately on his राजतरङ्गिणी

Kalhaṇa had taken his task of historian seriously and he had studied all the historical works of his time like the Purāṇas Harṣacarita, works of Bilhaṇa inscriptions, grants, traditions etc He had seen places of historical significance, examined coins and thus tried to get all the possible preparation as a historian And he has given a vivid description of the historical and social facts of Kashmir, He opines that the people of Kashmir are beautiful but fickle minded, the army undisciplined and nervy, but the princes were courageous and spirited The officers were noted for corruption and highhandedness Kalhaṇa excels even Bilhaṇa or Bāṇa in characterisation.

But Kalhaṇa has limited himself to Kashmir's history and his work does not deal with outside matters to any appreciable extent Further he wrote history to convey the futility of rulership and empires

He has tried to give the history of Kashmir from earliest times to the 12th century A D The first three तरङ्गs mainly deal with the गोनन्द (or गोनन्दवंश) In the 4th is described the कर्कोट वंश in the 5th उत्पलवंश, in the 6th लोहरवंश, in 7th the account is brought to हर्ष's assassination and in the 8th from उच्छल s राज्यारोहण a period of forty years is covered, until the contemporary days of king Jayasimha In the earlier portion we find that mythology has got mixed up with history and so the account is not reliable completely from a historical angle The more contemporary period in naturally treated with a more certain touch

Other miscelleneous works under historical काव्य which have some historical significance are the following—राजावलि of जोनराज, राजावलि of श्रीवर, आजमञ्जुश्रीकल्प (a Buddhist work) सोमपाल विलास of जल्हण, रामपालचरित o[illegible] हेमचन्द्र पृथ्वीराजविजय of unknow[illegible] of सोमेश्वरदत्त, जगडूचरित of [illegible] ह्कर्ण-पूर of शम्भु, रघुनाथाभ्युदय

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Appendix A

Alamkaras and Subhasitas in Banabhatta's Works

[We give below a list of selected references to passages in Banas works—हर्षचरित and कादम्बरी—to illustrate Bana's use of the different figures of speech And then we give a select collection of Bana s subhasitas]

(Part I) Alamkaras in Banabhatta's Works

1 उपमा —(i) ह intro v 16 (ii) 'सायतने तनीयसि निशानि स्वामिनि नमस्वति —ह p 22 (iii) The teeth of Bhairavacarya s emissary are 'अलाबुवीणविकट —ह p 166 (iv) 'बौद्धेनेव जीवानुकम्पिना '—का p 51 (v) 'मे उपयाति'—का (उ) p 287

2. श्लिष्टोपमा—(i) ह intro v 4 (ii) ह intro v 12 (iii) ह intro v 13 (iv) ह intro v 14 (v) ह intro v 17 (vi) ह intro v 20 (vii) 'मास्व मध्यनायक - उदवहन्ती -ह p 12 (viii) 'चक्रवर कृतकर '-का p 5 ix) प्रेताधिपनगरीव विविधकुसुमा च। (There is double साधर्म्य herein— का pp 19-20 (x) 'भये च जनस्य —का (उ) p 252

3 रूपक—(i) ह intro v 1 (ii) ह intro v 19 (iii) ह intro v 21 (iv) 'एष प्रवाह सुधानाम—का p 44

4 श्लिष्टरूपक—(i) 'स्वय धिष्ठिता —का (उ) p 287

5 उत्प्रेक्षा— (i) ह intro v 2 (ii) ह intro v 3 (iii) 'निर्भर्त्सनताडन समुद्भासमाना —ह pp 11-12 (iv) 'सशात- कपोलस्थलीं दधाना '—ह p 12 (v) 'निर्मोकमुक्ति कृतयुगस्य '—ह p 30 (vi) हारमिव वरुणस्य अम्बरश्रिया—ह p 30 (vii) 'अति चिर राजलक्ष्मी —का p 5 (viii 'आभरण उह्यमानम '—का p 9 (ix) उमद यमुनाम् —का p 11 (x) 'अतियूर यहाम् '—का p 11 (xi) 'सवतरच अभवत —का p 83 (xii) 'उचित लपस्यन्' —का p 183 (xiii) 'दिशदिश पथानम —का (उ) p 340

6 श्लेष —(i) ह intro v 6 (ii) 'स्रवचनि प्रजात्मणि'— ह p 163 (iii) वने स्व दाप '—ह pp 332-3 (iv) घन सम्भृतानि '—ह p 419

7 विरोधभास —(i) 'सन्निहित स्निग्धतारका च'—ह. p 42 (ii) 'यत्र च प्रमदा '—ह pp 160-1 (iii) 'अपरिमित अग्राहीत्'—का. pp 9-12 (iv) 'अपरिमित पवित्रा'—का p 20 (v) 'अभिनव. यौवन राजसेवानभिनम्'—का p 31 (vi) 'वनचरोऽपि वामलोचन'—का p 37 (vii) 'महाद्वार विवेश'—p 92 (viii) 'तोयराशि कलुषीकरोति'—का p 105 (ix) का (उ) para 276

8 स्वभावोक्ति —(i) शयनोपजुषि शिशुजने—ह p 132 (ii) vv 5-6—ह pp 152-3.

9 सहोक्ति —(i) का (उ) para 276

10 व्यतिरेक —(i) 'नाम्नैव वासुदेवम्'—का p 5

11 निदर्शना —(i) 'न खलु आरोपयति'—का p 155

12 परिसंख्या —(i) 'अस्मिश्च राजनि विचारा'—ह p 27 (ii) 'यस्मिश्च राजनि आसन्'—का p 6 (iii) 'यत्र च ..अधोगति'—का para 37 (iv) 'येषां च धर्माय'—का (उ) p 288.

13 दीपक —(i) 'तथा धारयति'—का (उ) p 253

14 मालादीपक — (i) 'अपि कुसुमधन्वा'—का (उ) p 290

15 अपह्नुति —(i) 'अथ तस्या कपटमभूत्'— का p 190 (where we have almost a सन्देहसङ्कर or अपह्नुतिs & व्याजोक्तिs)

16 अनुप्रास—(i) 'नवोचोदञ्चदुच्च .. पदचरणचत्रे'—ह p 22 (ii) 'त्वङ्गत्तुङ्ग तारकाम्'—ह p 29 (iii) 'भगवति.. भक्तिरभूत्'—ह p 164 (iv) 'सदाफल योद्गमा —ह p 144 (v) 'धाम .. धर्मस्य'—का p 56 (vi) का para 131

(Part II) Subhāṣitas in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Works

(1) विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धयः सर्वानर्थान् असतः सतो वा ।—ह p 18 (2) निसर्गविरोधिनी चेयं पयःपावकयोरिव धर्मक्रोधयोरेकत्र वृत्ति —ह p 18 (3) क्षमा हि मूलं सर्वतपसाम् ।—ह p 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निष्कारणमित्राणि कलुषयन्ति मनस्विनोऽपि मानसमसदृशजनादापतन्ती ।—ह p 23 (5) गतो हि प्रियवदता कुलविद्या । ह p 11 (6) उत्तमानां च चिरन्तना जायन्ते...ह p 11 (7) ...महताम् ।—ह p 11. (8) ...

लोलानि खलु भवन्त्यविवेकिनां मनांसि ।-ह p. 85. (9) उपदिशन्ति हि विनयमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि भर्तव्यानां स्वामिनः ।-ह. p. 134. (10) निसर्गस्वैरिणी स्वच्छन्दानुरोधिनी च भवति हि महतां मतिः ।-ह. p. 164. (11) उपनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमपि जनं शीलसंवादाः ।-ह p. 165-6. (12) प्रतनुगुणग्राह्याणि कुसुमानीव हि भवन्ति सतां मनांसि ।-ह p. 175 (13) धनोष्मणा म्लायत्यलं लतेव मनस्विता ।-ह p 176. (14) भुजे वीर्यं निवसति न वाचि । ह- p. 187. (15) अङ्कुरव्यापिनः फलानुमेयमफलानां मनोरथाः ।-ह. p. 191. (16) मदनदीपिकापि प्राप्य तुलेव लघुप्रकृतिरुन्नतिमायाति ।-ह p. 191. (17) प्रत्युपकारस्पृहावेशात् भवन्ति धीराणां हृदयादप्यलम्भाः ।-ह p 191. (18) भक्तजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवतानां मनांसि ।-ह- p- 202. (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्यः कठिनतरा खलु स्नेहमया बन्धनपाशाः, यदाकृष्टास्तिर्यञ्चोऽप्येवमाचरन्ति ।-ह. p. 251. (20) न हृदयपुण्यभाजां वशमरसरकुर्वन्ति भवादृशाः ।-ह p. 267. (21) प्रजाभिस्तु बन्धुमन्तो राजानः, न ज्ञातिभिः ।-ह p. 267. (22) नाम स्वैर न भवति न तु श्रावयत्यप्रियं वचनमरतिकरमितर इवाभिजातो जनः ।-ह. p. 271. (23) उत्सवधामा च नूतनमङ्गला चाप्यगन्ता च निरत्ययोगा च भवति ।-ह. p 285. (24) न च निज शोकः समभिभवति त्वत्पुण्यमाचक्षते शास्त्रविदः । स्त्रियो हि विषयः शुचाम ।-ह p 307. (25) प्रतापसहाया हि सत्त्ववन्तः ।-ह. p. 312. (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति तापितास्तेजस्विनः ।-ह p. 328. (27) अतत्त्वदर्शिन्यो हि भवन्त्यविदग्धानां धियः ।-ह p 353 (28) मैत्री च प्रायः कार्यस्यपेक्षिणी क्षोणीभृताम् ।-ह- 384. (29) देवस्य हि यशांसि सञ्चिचीषतो बहिरङ्गभूतानि धनानि ।-ह. p 384. (30) प्रायशश्च जनस्य जनयति सुहृदपदिष्टो मुखमास्वादम्-ह p. 408 (31) अभिगमनीयाश्च गुणाः सर्वस्य ।-ह. p. 408. (32) कस्य न स्पृहणीयो मुनिभावः ।-ह. p. 408. (33) भगवती च वैधव्ये धर्मगृहिणी परिव्राजकाधयति प्रव्रज्या, किं पुनः स्खलत्वनोऽपि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp 408-9 (33) स्नेहः खलु संयमनपाशः शौर्यं अभिजानानाम् ।-ह. p. 417. (34) अन्धकारो हि परमार्थतः प्रभवता प्रश्रयातिशयः, रत्नादिवस्तु शिलासाराः ।-ह. p. 418. (35) महद्भिः पुण्यैर्विना न विश्राम्यन्ति मज्जने त्वादृशि दृशः -ह p 419. (36) किमिव हि दुष्करमकरुणानाम् ।-का. p. 33 (37) प्रायेणाकारणमित्राण्यतिकरुणार्द्राणि च सदा भवन्ति सतां चेतांसि ।-का. p. 37 (38) पुण्यानि हि नामग्रहणान्यपि महामुनीनाम् । किं पुनर्दर्शनानि । का p 43. (39) अनाथपरिपालनं हि धर्मोऽस्म-

7 विरोधभास —(i) 'सनिहित स्निग्धतारका च'—ह p 42 (ii) 'यत्र च प्रमदा'—ह pp 160-1 (iii) 'अपरिमित अद्राक्षीत्'—का. pp 9-12 (iv) 'अपरिमित पवित्रा'—का p 20 (v) 'अभिनव. यौवन राजसेवानभिज्ञम्'—का p 31 (vi) 'वनचरोऽपि वामलोचन' —का p 37 (vii) 'महाद्वार विवेश'—p 92 (viii) 'तोयराशि कलुषीकरोति'—का p 105 (ix) का (उ) para 276

8 स्वभावोक्ति —(i) शयनोपजुषि शिशुजने—ह p 132 (ii) vv 5-6—ह pp 152-3.

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10 व्यतिरेक —(i) 'नाम्नैव वासुदेवम्'—का p 5

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13 दीपक —(i) 'तथा धारयति'—का (उ) p 253

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15 अपह्नुति —(i) 'अथ *तस्या कपटमभूत्*'— *का* p 190 (where we have almost a सन्देहसङ्कर or अपह्नुतिs & व्याजोक्तिs).

16 अनुप्रास —(i) 'सकोचोदञ्चदुच्च पट्चरणचक्रे'—ह p 22 (ii) 'त्वङ्गत्तुङ्ग तारकाम्'—ह p 29 (iii) 'भगवति . भक्तिरभूत्' — ह p 164 (iv) 'सदाफल कोदगमा —ह p 144 (v) 'धाम धर्मस्य'—का p 56 (vi) का para 131

(Part II) Subhasitas in Banabhatta's Works

(1) विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धय सर्वानर्थान असत सतो वा !– ह p 18 (2) निसर्गविरोधिनी चेय पय पावकयोरिव धर्मक्रोधयोरेकत्र वृत्ति –ह p 18 (3) क्षमा हि मूल सर्वतपसाम ।–ह p 18 (4) *निष्कारणा च* निकारकणिकापि कलुषयति मनस्विनोऽपि मानसमसदृशजनादापतन्ती !–ह p 23 (5) सतां हि प्रियंवदता कुलविद्या । ह p 41 (6) उत्तमाना च चिरंतनता जनयत्यनुजीविष्वपि जन किय मात्रमपि म दाक्षम !–ह p 41 (7) अक्षीण खलु दाक्षिण्यकोशो महताम !–ह p 41 (8) सलिलानीव गतानुगतिकानि

लोभ्गति खलु भवन्त्यविवेकिना मनांसि ।–ह p. 85. (9) उपदिशन्ति हि विनयमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिन । ह. p. 134. (10) निसर्गस्वैरिणी स्वच्छन्दानुरोधिनी च भवति हि महता मति । ह. p. 164. (11) उपनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमपि जन शीलमवादा ।–ह p 165 6. (12) प्रननुगुणग्राह्याणि कुसुमानीव हि भवति सता मनांसि ।-ह p 175 (13) घर्मोष्मणा म्लायत्यल्पस्तेव मनस्विता । ह p 176 (14) भुजे वीर्यं निवसति न वाचि । ह p 187 (15) अदूरव्यापिन फल्गुचेतसामलसाना मनोरथा ।–ह p. 191. (16) सपत्नगिरापि प्राप्य तुलेव लघुप्रकृतिरुन्नति मायाति ।–ह p 191 (17) प्रयुपकारोपवेशामुर्भवन्ति धीराणा हृदया वष्टम्भा ।–ह p 191 (18) सकलजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना मनांसि ।–ह p 202 (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्य कठिनतरा खलु स्नेहमया बन्धनपाशा, यदाकृष्टास्तिर्यञ्चोऽप्येवमाचरन्ति ।–ह p 251. (20) न हृत्पुण्यभाजा वशमल्पपुर्वंति भवादृशा ।-ह p 267 (21) प्रजाभिस्तु बन्धुमन्तो राजान, न ज्ञातिभि ।–ह p 267 (22) काम स्वय न भवति न तु श्रावयत्यप्रिय वचनमरतिकरमितर इवाभिजातो जन ।–ह p 271 (23) दुःखदग्धाना च भूतिरमङ्गला चाप्रशस्ता च निरुपयोग च भवति। ह p 285. (24) य च चित्र शोक समभिभवति त कापुरुषमाचक्षते शास्त्रविद । [illegible] हि विषय शुचाम ।–ह p 307 (25) [illegible] हि [illegible] ।–ह. p 312 (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति तारिग्नस्नेह्येन्धन ।–ह p 328 (27) अतत्त्वदर्शिनो हि भवन्त्यविदग्धाना धिय ।-ह p 333 (28) मैत्री च प्राय कार्यव्यपेक्षिणी क्षोणीभृताम् ।–ह 334 (29) दत्तस्य हि यशांसि सचिचीषतो बहिरङ्गभूतानि धनानि ।–ह p 334 (30) प्रायेणार्व जनस्य जनयति सुहृदपि दृष्टो भृशमाश्वासम्–ह p 408 (31) अभिगमनीयाश्च गुणाः सर्वस्य ।–ह. p. 408 (32) यस्य न [illegible] [illegible] ।–ह p 408. (33) भगवती च वैधेऽपि धर्मगृहिणी परि[illegible] प्रवर्तना, कि पुनः सरलमनोमुपि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp 408 9 (35) [illegible] खलु सर्वजनपाद सौजन्यं अभिजातानाम् ।-ह p 417 (34) [illegible] परमार्थेन प्रभवता प्रश्रयातिशय, रत्नादिपरस्तु शिलाभारः ।-ह p. [illegible] (36) [illegible] कन्दिभपूर्वैर्विना न विश्राम्यन्ति सज्जने स्वादृशि दृग-ह p 41[illegible] (36) [illegible] हि दुष्करमक- रणानाम् ।-का p 33 (37) [illegible] भवन्ति सता चेतांसि ।-का p 37 (38) मुनीनाम् । नि पुनर्दर्शनानि । का p 43

7 विरोधाभास —(i) ' सन्निहित स्निग्धतारका च '—ह p 42 (ii) ' यत्र च प्रमदा '—ह pp 160–1 (iii) ' अपरिमित अद्राक्षीत् '—का. pp 9–12 (iv) ' अपरिमित पवित्रा '—का p 20 (v) ' अभिनव. यौवन राजसेवानभिनम् '—का p 31 (vi) ' वनचरोऽपि वामलोचन ' —का p 37 (vii) ' महाद्वार विवर —p 92 (viii) ' तोयराशि – कलुषीकरोति '—का p 105 (ix) का (उ) para 276

8 स्वभावोक्ति —(i) शयनोपजुषि शिशुजने—ह p 132 (ii) vv 5-6—ह pp 152–3

9 सहोक्ति —(i) का (उ) para 276

10 व्यतिरेक —(i) ' नाम्नैव वासुदेवम् '—का p 5

11 निदर्शना —(i) ' स खलु आरोपयति '—का p 155

12 परिसंख्या —(i) ' अस्मिंश्च राजनि विचारा —ह p 27 (ii) ' यस्मिंश्च राजनि आसन —का p 6 (iii) ' यत्र च . अधोगति '— का para 37 (iv) ' येषा च धर्माय —का (उ) p 288

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(Part II) Subhāṣitas in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Works

(1) विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धयः सर्वानर्थान् असतः सतो वा ।—ह p 18 (2) निसर्गविरोधिनी चेयं पयःपावकयोरिव धर्मक्रोधयोरेकत्र वृत्ति —ह p 18 (3) क्षमा हि मूलं सर्वतपसाम् ।—ह p 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निकारकणिकापि कलुषयति मनस्विनोऽपि मानसमसज्जनाभ्यस्ता ।—ह p 23 (5) सतां हि प्रियंवदता कुलविद्या ।—ह p 11 (6) उत्तमानां च विपत्ता [illegible] ।—ह p 41 (7) [illegible] ।—ह p 41 (8) [illegible]

लोलानि खलु भवन्त्यविवेकिना मनासि ।–ह p. 85. (9) उपदिशन्ति हि विनयमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिन । ह. p. 134. (10) निसर्गस्वैरिणी स्वरुच्यनुरोधिनी च भवति हि महता मति ।-ह. p. 164. (11) उपनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमपि जन शील्मवादा ।-ह p 165 6. (12) प्रतनुगुणग्राहचाणि कुसुमानीव हि भवन्ति सता मनासि ।-ह p. 175 (13) घनोष्मणा म्लापयत्यल लतेव मनस्विता । ह p 176. (14) भुजे वीर्यं निवसति न वाचि । ह. p. 187. (15) अदूरव्यापिनः फल्गुचेतसामलसाना मनोरथाः ।-ह. p. 191. (16) सपत्कणिकामपि प्राप्य तुलेव लघुप्रकृतिरुन्नतिमायाति ।–ह p. 191. (17) प्रत्युपकारदुष्प्रवेशामु भवन्ति धीराणा हृदयावष्टम्भा ।-ह p 191 (18) भक्तजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना मनासि ।-ह. p. 202. (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्य कठिनतरा खलु स्नेहमया बन्धनपाशा, यदाकृष्टास्तिर्यञ्चो ऽप्येवमाचरन्ति ।-ह. p. 251. (20) न ह्यल्पपुण्यभाजा वशमल्कुर्वन्ति भवादृशा ।-ह p. 267. (21) प्रजाभिस्तु कथमन्तो राजान, न ज्ञातिभि ।-ह p. 267. (22) काम स्वय न भवति न तु श्रावयत्यप्रिय वचनमरतिकरमितर इवाभिजातो जन ।–ह. p. 271. (23) दुःखदरपाला च भूतिरमङ्गला चाप्रगल्भता च निरुपयोगा च भवति ।-ह p 285. (24) य च किल शोक. समभिभवति त कापुरुषमाचक्षते शास्त्रविद. । स्त्रियो हि विषय शुचाम ।-ह p 307. (25) प्रतापसहाया हि सत्त्ववन्तः ।-ह. p 312. (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति ताडितास्तेजस्विन ।-ह p 328. (27) अतत्त्वदर्शिन्यो हि भवन्त्यविदग्धाना धिय ।-ह p 353 (28) मैत्री च प्रायः कार्यव्यपेक्षिणी क्षोणीभृताम् ।-ह. 384. (29) देवस्य हि यशासि सचिवीपतो बहिरङ्गभूतानि धनानि ।-ह. p 384. (30) प्रायशश्च जनस्य जनयति सुहृदविदृष्टो भृशमाश्वासम्-ह p. 408. (31) अभिगमनीयाश्च गुणाः सर्वस्य ।-ह. p. 408 (32) कस्य न प्रतीक्ष्यो मुनिभाव ।–ह. p. 408. (33) भगवती च वैधेऽपि धर्मगृहिणी गरिमाणमापादयति प्रव्रज्या, किं पुनः सकलमनोमुषि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp. 408 9 (33) अलोह खलु सयमनपाश. सौजन्य अभिजातानाम् ।-ह. p. 417. (34) अलङ्कारो हि परमार्थत प्रभवता प्रश्रयातिशय, रत्नादिकस्तु शिलाभारः ।-ह. p. 418. (35) महद्भिपुण्यैर्विना न विश्राम्यन्ति सज्जने त्वादृशि दृश -ह p 419. (36) किमिव हि दुष्करमकरुणानाम् ।-का. p. 33. (37) प्रायेणाकारणमित्राण्यतिकरुणार्द्राणि च सदा भवन्ति सता चेतासि ।-का. p. 37 (38) पुण्यानि हि नामग्रहणान्यपि महामुनीनाम् । किं पुनर्दर्शनानि । का p 43. (39) अनाथपरिपालन हि धर्मोऽस्म-

7. विरोधभास —(i) ' सनिद्विन.. स्निग्धतारका च '—ह. p. 42 (ii) ' यत्र च...प्रमदाः '—ह. pp. 160–1 (iii) ' अपरिमित... अद्राक्षीत् '—का. pp. 9–12 (iv) ' अपरिमित .. पवित्रा '—का. p. 20 (v) ' अभिनव. यौवन .. राजसेवानभिज्ञम् '—का. p. 31 (vi) ' वनचरोऽपि.. वामलोचन. '—का. p. 37 (vii) ' महाद्वार.. विवेश '—p. 92 (viii) ' तोयराशि .. कलुषीकरोति '—का. p. 105 (ix) का. (उ) para 276

8. स्वभावोक्ति —(i) शयनोपजुषि.. शिशुजने—ह. p. 132 (ii) vv. 5-6—ह. pp. 152–3.

9. सहोक्ति —(i) का (उ) para 276

10. व्यतिरेकः—(i) ' नाम्नैव .. वासुदेवम् '—का. p 5.

11. निदर्शना —(i) ' न खलु .. आरोपयति '—का. p 155.

12 परिसंख्या —(i) ' अस्मिश्च राजनि... विचाराः '—ह p. 27 (ii) ' यस्मिन्श्च राजनि . आसन् '—का. p. 6 (iii) ' यत्र च .. अयोगतिः '—का para 37 (iv) ' येषा च .. धर्माय '—का (उ) p. 288.

13. दीपक —(i) ' तथा धारयति '—का. (उ) p. 253.

14. मालादीपक — (i) ' अपि. कुसुमधन्वा '—का (उ) p. 290.

15. अपह्नुति —(i) ' अथ तस्या . . कपटमभूत् '— का. p. 190 (where we have almost a सन्देहसङ्कर or अपह्नुतिs & व्याजोक्तिs).

16. अनुप्रास —(i) ' सकोचोदञ्चदुच्च . षट्चरणचक्रे '—ह. p. 22 (ii) ' त्वङ्गत्तुङ्ग . तारकाम् '—ह p 29 (iii) ' भगवति...भक्तिरभूत् '—ह p. 164 (iv) ' सदाफल . कोदगमाः—ह. p. 144 (v) ' धाम ... धर्मस्य '—का. p 56 (vi) का. para 131.

(Part II) Subhasitas in Bāṇabhatta's Works

(1) विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धय सर्वानर्थान् असत सतो वा ।—ह. p 18 (2) निसर्गविरोधिनी चेय पय पावकयोरिव धर्मक्रोधयोरेकत्र वृत्तिः—ह. p 18 (3) क्षमा हि मूल सर्वतपसाम ।—ह p 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निकारकणिकापि कलुषयति मनस्विनोऽपि मानसमसदृशजनादापतन्ती ।—ह. p 23. (5) सता हि प्रियवदता कुलविद्या ।—ह p 41. (6) उत्तमाना च चिरतनता जनयत्यनुजीविन्यपि जने कियन्मात्रमपि मन्दाक्षम् ।—ह p 41. (7) अक्षीण खलु दाक्षिण्यकोशो महताम् ।—ह p. 41. (8) सलिलानीव गतानुगतिकानि

लोलानि खलु भवन्त्यविवेकिना मनांसि ।–ह p. 85 (9) उपदिशन्ति हि विनयमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि भर्तव्यानां स्वामिन ।–ह. p. 134. (10) निसर्गस्वैरिणी स्वच्छन्दानुरोधिनी च भवति हि महतां मति ।–ह p. 164. (11) उपनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमपि जन शीलमवादा ।–ह p 165 6 (12) प्रतनुगुणग्राहकाणि कुसुमानीव हि भवन्ति सतां मनांसि ।–ह p 175 (13) घनोष्मणा म्लापयत्य स्लेव मनस्विता ।–ह p 176 (14) भुजे वीर्यं निवसति न वाचि । ह p. 187. (15) अदूरव्यापिन. फल्गुचेतसामल्सानां मनोरथा ।–ह. p. 191. (16) सपत्नगिकापि प्राप्य तुलेव लघुप्रकृतिरुन्नतिमायाति ।–ह p. 191. (17) प्रत्युपकारदुष्प्रवेशासु भवन्ति धीराणां हृदयावष्टम्भा ।–ह p 191 (18) भक्तजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवतानां मनांसि ।–ह p. 202 (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्यः कठिनतरा खलु स्नेहमया बन्धनपाशा, यदाकृष्टास्तिर्यञ्चोऽप्येवमाचरन्ति ।–ह. p. 251. (20) न हृचल्पपुण्यभाजां दशामद्भुर्वंति भवादृशा ।–ह p. 267. (21) प्रजाभिस्तु बन्धुमन्तो राजान, न ज्ञातिभि ।–ह p 267. (22) काम स्वय न भवति न तु श्रावयत्यप्रिय वचनमरतिकरमितर इवाभिजातो जन ।–ह. p 271. (23) दु खदग्धाना च मूर्तिरमङ्गला चाप्रशस्ता च निरुपयोगा च भवति ।–ह p 285. (24) य च स्त्रिय शोक समभिभवति त कापुरुषमाचक्षते शास्त्रविद । स्त्रियो हि विषय शुचाम ।–ह p 307. (25) प्रतापमहाघा हि सत्त्ववन्त ।–ह. p. 312. (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति ताडितास्तेजस्विन ।–ह p 328. (27) अतत्त्वदर्शिन्यो हि भवन्त्यविदग्धानां श्रिय ।–ह p 353 (28) मैत्री च प्रायः कार्यव्यपेक्षिणी क्षोणीभृताम् ।–ह 384. (29) देवस्य हि यशांसि सचिवीपतो बहिरङ्गभूतानि धनानि ।–ह p 384. (30) प्रायशश्च जनस्य जनयति सुहृदपि दृष्टो मृत्यमाश्वासम्-ह p. 408 (31) अभिगमनीयाश्च गुणाः सर्वस्य ।–ह. p. 408 (32) कस्य न प्रतीक्ष्यो मुनिभाव ।–ह p 408. (33) भगवती च वैधेऽपि धर्मगृहिणी गरिमाणमापादयति प्रव्रज्या, किं पुनः सकलमनोमुषि विदुषि जने ।–ह pp 408 9 (33) अलोह खलु सयमनपाश सौजन्यं अभिजातानाम् ।–ह. p 417 (34) अलङ्कारो हि परमार्थत प्रभवतां प्रश्रयातिशय, रत्नादिकस्तु शिलाभारः ।–ह. p. 418. (35) महद्भिःपुण्यैर्विना न विश्राम्यन्ति सज्जने त्वादृशि दृश -ह p 419. (36) किमिव हि दुष्करमकरुणानाम् ।–का p 33 (37) प्रायेणाकारणमित्राण्यतिकरुणार्द्राणि च सदा भवन्ति सता चेतांसि ।–का p. 37 (38) पुण्यानि हि नामग्रहणान्यपि महामुनीनाम् । किं पुनर्दर्शनानि । का p 43. (39) अनाथपरिपालनं हि धर्मोऽस्म-

द्विधानाम् ।-का. p. 46. (40) जन्मान्तराणां हि धर्मं पन्थानमनयति पुरुषस्येह-जन्मनि । न हि शक्यं दैवमन्यथा कर्तुमभियुक्तेनापि ।-का. p. 62. (41) पर हि दैवतमपत्यम् ।-का. p. 62. (42) अमोघफला हि महामुनिसेवा भवति ।-का. p. 62. (43) धर्मपरायणानां हि सदा समीपसञ्चारिण्यः कल्याणसम्पदो भवन्ति ।-का. p. 63. (44) आवेदयन्ति हि प्रत्यासन्नमानन्दमग्रपातीनि शुभानि निमित्तानि ।-का. p. 65. (45) अचिरापपन्नदशं प्रायो निशावसानसमयदृष्टा भवन्ति स्वप्नाः ।-का. p. 65. (46) शब्योऽत्र जात्रवादो यद्विपद् विपद संपत्सम्पदमनुबध्नातीति ।-का. p. 73. (47) नष्टपुण्यभाजो मयादृशास्त्रिभुवनविस्मयहेतव पुत्रशतं प्रतिष्ठन्ते ।-का 96. (48) केवलं च निसर्गत एवाभानुभेद्यमरत्नालोकोच्छेद्यमप्रदीपप्रभापनेयमतिगहनं तमो यौवनप्रभवम् ।-का. p. 102 (49) गर्भेश्वरत्वमभिनवयौवनत्वमप्रतिमरूपत्वममानुषशक्तित्वं चेति महतीयं खल्वनर्थपरम्परा ।-का. p. 102-3. (50) गुरूपदेशश्च नाम पुरुषाणामखिलमलप्रक्षालनक्षममजलं स्नानम् ।-का. p. 103. (51) राज्यविषविकारतन्द्राप्रदा राज्यलक्ष्मीः ।-का. p. 104. (52) आत्मप्रनष्टो हि राजा सर्वलोकस्य दर्शितसिद्धादेशो भवति ।-का. p. 110. (53) आत्मकृतानां हि दोषाणां नियतमनुभवितव्यं फलमात्मनैव ।-का. p. 121. (54) नास्त्यसाध्यं नाम तपसाम् ।-का.p.131. (55) जनयति हि प्रभुप्रसादलवोऽपि प्रागल्भ्यमधीरप्रकृते ।-का. p. 134. (56) स्वल्पाप्येकदेशावस्थाने कालकला परिचयमुत्पादयति ।-का. p. 134. (57) अणुरप्युपचारपरिग्रह प्रणयमारोपयति ।-का. p. 134. (58) अहो दुर्निवारता व्यसनोपनिपातानां यदीदृशीमप्याकृतिमनभिभवनीयामात्मीयां कुर्वन्ति ।-का. p. 135. (59) सर्वथा न न क्वचन स्पृशन्ति शरीरधर्माणमुपतापा ।-का. p. 135 (60) बलवती हि द्वन्द्वानां प्रवृत्ति. ।-का. p.135 (61) न ह्यल्पीयसा शोककारणेन क्षोभीभियन्त एवंविधा मूर्तय. ।-का. p 135 (62) न हि क्षुद्रनिर्घातपाताभिहता चलति वसुधा ।-का. p. 135. (63) कालो हि गुणाश्च दुर्निवारतामारोपयन्ति मदनस्य सर्वथा ।-का. p. 142. (65) अदूरकोपा हि मुनिजनप्रकृतिः ।-का. p. 142. (65) प्राणपरित्यागेनापि रक्षणीयाः सुहृदसव इति कथयामि ।-का. p 152. (66) सुखमुपदिश्यते परस्य ।-का. p. 156. (67) सततमतिगर्हितकृत्येनापि रक्षणीयान्मन्यन्ते सुहृदसूनसाधव: । का. p. 158. (68) आशया हि किमिव हि न क्रियते ।-का p.171 (69) अचिन्त्यो हि महात्मना प्रभाव । बहुप्रकाराश्च संसारवृत्तय । चित्र च दैवम् । आश्चर्यातिशययुक्ताश्च तप सिद्धयः । अनेकविधाश्च कर्मणा शक्तय. ।-का. p. 175 (70) प्रभवति हि भगवान् विधि । बलवती च नियति ।

आत्मेच्छया न शक्यमुच्छ्वसितुमपि । अतिपिशुनानि चास्यैकान्तनिष्ठुरस्य दैवहतकस्य विलसितानि । न क्षमन्ते दीर्घकालमव्याजरमणीयं प्रेम । प्रायेण च निसर्गत एवानायतस्वभावभङ्गुराणि सुखानि, आयतस्वभावानि च दुःखानि । तथा हि कथमप्येकस्मिन्जन्मनि समागमो जन्मान्तरसहस्राणि च विरहः प्राणिनाम् ।.... आपतन्ति हि संसारपथमतिगहनमवतीर्णानामेते वृत्तान्ताः । धीरा हि तरन्त्यापदम् ।—का p. 175. (71) दुःखितमपि जनं रमयन्ति सज्जनसमागमाः ।– का.p.181 (72) स्नेहलवोऽपि वारिणेव यौवनमदेन दूरं विस्तार्यते ।–का. p 199. (73) न ह्यतःपरमपरं कष्टतरं किञ्चिदपि पीडाकारणं यद्गुणेषु वर्तमानो दोषेषु सम्भाव्यते इतरजनेनापि ; किं पुनर्गुरुजनेन । यो गुणी गुणैरेवाराधनीयः ।–का (उ) p. 287. (74) गुरवो हि दैवतं बालानाम् ।–का. (उ) p. 291. (75) यथैवाशिषो गुरुजनवितीर्णा वरतामापद्यन्ते तथैवाक्रोशाः शापताम् ।–का. (उ) p. 291. (76) स्वयमारोपितेषु तरुषु यावदुत्पद्यते स्नेहः । किं पुनरङ्गसम्भवेष्वपत्येषु ।–का. (उ) p 291. (77) राजा कालस्य कारणम् ।–का. (उ) p. 294. (78) तपसो हि सम्यक्कृतस्य नास्त्यसाध्यं नाम किञ्चित् ।–का. (उ) p 322 (79) भृत्या अपि त एव ये सम्पत्तिविपत्तौ सविशेषं सेवन्ते ।– का. (उ) p. 329. (80) विधिर्निमापरः कोऽप्यत्रास्ते ।–का, (उ) p. 334. (81) सर्वाभिवाञ्छितप्राप्तिस्तु महतः पुण्यराशेः फलम् ।–का. (उ) p. 334. (82) सुहृदस्तु स्वयं दुःखिता अपि निधानीकृत्यात्मदुःखं सुहृद्दुःखापनोदनायैव यतन्ते ।–का. (उ) p. 336. (83) श्रुतौ च पठ्यते एतद्यादृशाद्धि जायते तादृगेव भवतीति ।–का. (उ) p. 347.

Appendix B

ENCOMIA TO BĀNA BY ANCIENTS

(1) श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु
नाम्नैव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
श्रीहर्ष एव निजसंसदि येन राज्ञा
संपूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥
बाणस्य हर्षचरिते निशितामुदीक्ष्य
शक्तिं न केऽत्र कवितास्त्रमदं त्यजन्ति ।
मान्यं न कस्य च कवेरिह कालिदास—
वाचा रसेन रसितस्य भवत्ययुष्यम् ॥

(11) युक्तं कादम्बरीं श्रुत्वा कवयो मौनमाश्रिताः ।
बाणध्वनावनध्यायो भवतीति स्मृतिर्यतः ॥
—सोमेश्वरदेवकृतौ कीर्तिकौमुद्याम् १.१५

(12) सहर्षचरिताख्याद्भुतकादम्बरीकथा ।
बाणस्य वाण्यनार्येव स्वच्छन्दा भ्रमति क्षितौ ॥
(v l सहर्षचरिता शश्वत्कृत०) —राजशेखरस्य
(See JBBRAS vol XVII pt. I p 59)

(13) कादम्बरीसहोदर्या सुधया वै बुधे हृदि ।
हर्षाख्यायिकया ख्यातिं बाणोऽब्धिरिव लब्धवान् ॥ —तस्यापि

(14) शश्वद्बाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन निःशेषो रञ्जितो जनः ॥
—त्रिविक्रमकृते नलचम्पूग्रन्थे १ १४

(15) केवलोऽपि स्फुरन्बाणः करोति विमदान्कवीन् ।
किं पुनः क्लृप्तसंधानपुलिन्ध्र (न्द ?) कृतसंनिधिः ॥
—धनपालकृताया तिलकमञ्जर्याम् श्लो २६

(16) सुबन्धुर्बाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रयः ।
वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥ —राघवपाण्डवीये १.४१

(17) यस्याश्चौरश्चिकुरनिकरः कर्णपूरो मयूरो
भासो हासः कविकुलगुरुः कालिदासो विलासः ।
हर्षो हर्षो हृदयवसतिः पञ्चबाणस्तु बाणः
केषां नैषा कथय कविताकामिनी कौतुकाय ॥
—जयदेवकृते प्रसन्नराघवे

(18) प्रतिकविभेदनबाणः कविताततरुगहनविहरणमयूरः ।
सहृदयलोकसुबन्धुर्जयति श्रीभट्टबाणकविराजः ॥
—वीरनारायणचरिते

(19) सचित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणोरवनीपतिः ।
श्रीहर्ष इव संघट्टं चक्रे बाणमयूरयोः ॥ —नवसाहसाङ्के

(20) शब्दार्थयोः समो गुम्फः पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥
(v l शिलाभट्टारिका० in c, ०मा मता in d)
—सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे

(21) दण्डीत्युपस्थिते सद्य कवीना कम्पता मन ।
प्रविष्ट त्वन्तर बाण कण्ठ वागव रुध्यते ॥ —कस्यापि

(22) मेण्ठ स्वद्विरदाधिरोहिणि वश याते सुबन्धौ विध ।
शान्तो हन्त च भारवौ विघटिते बाण विषादस्पृश ॥ —श्रीकण्ठचरिते

(23) In the Paṅcatantra of Durgasimha composed in Kannada in the 11th century A D it is said that Bāṇa was styled कविचक्रवर्तिन् by हर्ष Vide Zeitschhrift fur Indologie und Iranistic for 1928 p 255 et p 257

Appencix C

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